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EARLY SECULAR EFFIGIES  
IN ENGLAND

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

BY

H. A. TUMMERS



LEIDEN / E. J. BRILL / 1980

# EARLY SECULAR EFFIGIES IN ENGLAND

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

De schrijver van dit proefschrift werd geboren te 's-Gravenhage op 22 september 1937. Na in Udenhout zijn lagere school doorlopen te hebben, deed hij zijn gymnasiale studies aan de Apostolische School van het H. Hart te Tilburg, die hij afsloot met het staats-examen gymnasium a. Vanaf 1959 studeerde hij in Nijmegen Engels en Kunstgeschiedenis. Op 20 mei 1966 legde hij aan de Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen het doctoraal examen Engels af en op 8 november 1973 het doctoraal examen Kunstgeschiedenis. Vanaf 1965 to 1973 is hij leraar Engels geweest op middelbare scholen in de gemeente Nijmegen, vooral aan het Dominicus College. Sinds 1968 is hij als docent Engels verbonden aan de Avondscholengemeenschap Cranenveldt te Nijmegen. Thans is hij wetenschappelijk hoofdamtenaar bij de sectie Kunstgeschiedenis, vakgroep Middeleeuwen, van de Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen. Hij is getrouwd en heeft drie kinderen.

## I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

### I.1 *State of research and points of departure*

The study of medieval tombs and particularly of medieval effigies is enjoying an ever increasing popularity. In 1964 there appeared Panofsky's, *Tomb Sculpture, its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. Panofsky's third chapter, which consists of 28 pages and 86 illustrations, gives a survey of the different types of sepulchral monuments and their development in the Early Christian Period and the Middle Ages. Although refreshingly new in conception and ideas, the scope of a single chapter is too limited to suffice as a survey for the Middle Ages. s'Jacob's *Idealism and Realism, a study of sepulchral symbolism* had appeared ten years before. This deals with the ideas which had inspired the makers of tombs and effigies, but in no way with the sculptural works as such. The book contains a mass of information on all kinds of iconographical aspects and is very valuable because of its many references. A very complete survey of medieval effigies appeared in 1976: Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*. This claims to comprise all the effigies of before 1200, a great many of the 13th century, and a selection of examples of the last two centuries of the medieval period.<sup>1</sup> Although Bauch will certainly be the standard work for many years to come, such an all-embracing 'Ueberschau' has its drawbacks: it cannot go into much detail, nor take account of all the effigies.

It is clear that through works like these the greater and more important monuments become ever better known, but the simpler monuments, those effigies made in the more provincial workshops, far from the famous centres where the artists of genius worked, remain a neglected group.<sup>2</sup> It is these monuments that require a more thorough investigation and a comprehensive survey. And this is what I propose to do for the greater part of the early English effigies. Such a study is not unrewarding, for early English effigies can hold their own among other European effigies, their place being even quite remarkable. It is well known that funerary effigies form the greater part of surviving English medieval statuary.



What is less known is the fact that their number exceeds the number of surviving French effigies. Two waves of iconoclasm have destroyed a great deal of medieval English sculpture but, unlike the French revolutionaries, English iconoclasts like Cromwell only destroyed what they considered to be superstitious. They left intact the non-ecclesiastical effigies, which they considered to commemorate men worthy of their country.<sup>3</sup>

The centre and, one might say, the nursery of medieval sculpture was France. In comparison with French statues and effigies English sculpture of the High Middle Ages has been described as '*pénible*'<sup>4</sup> and 'unrewarding qua sculpture'.<sup>5</sup> Thus for instance the freshness and liveliness of the knightly statues of St Theodore and St George on the south portal of Chartres Cathedral<sup>6</sup> have never been equalled in other European knightly sculpture. However, the English effigies, and especially the knightly effigies of the 13th century, show some fine and lively characteristics differing remarkably from French effigies. The French knightly effigies that have survived, or are known through drawings,<sup>7</sup> represent only one fixed type. The knight lies on the slab in a very dignified way, the hands joined in prayer, the legs parallel, not exactly stiff but yet very much of one and the same frontality. There is not yet any inclination of the body. English 13th century knightly effigies appear quite lively in comparison. Already at an early date they are original,<sup>8</sup> I would say, in expressing an increasingly easy, and comfortable pose. They represent perhaps a more worldly and less spiritual outlook. They very soon abandon their statuesque character and express an easy and natural lying position, to be seen in the surcoat folds, in the mail, and especially in the attitude of the whole body.

What has been said here about knightly effigies is true to a lesser extent for other secular effigies. Thus in France there is a small group of monuments, not to be found in England, where the effigy is stretched out on a bed adorned with draperies. The most prominent examples of the type are the tombs of the English kings in Fontevrault.<sup>9</sup> The easy grace and naturalness on such French effigies as at Lèves and, on an even higher plane, in such great creations as the effigies of Louis de France at St Denis and of St Osanne at Jouarre are hardly to be found on comparable English effigies of ladies and civilians.<sup>10</sup>

The French influence on English sculpture throughout the 13th century was considerable. I would say that French sculptures re-

present the more perfect production of the experienced master. English sculptors seldom attained a complete mastery of technique, but the struggle against technical difficulties and the search for new ideas to express a worldly recumbency, especially on knightly effigies, often produce an impression of freshness and originality.<sup>11</sup>

Dutch, Belgian, German and Spanish effigies of the 13th century seem to have followed the French models very closely. In Holland there is little as far as the 13th century is concerned. The partly surviving knightly effigy of Arnoud van der Sluis of 1300-1310<sup>12</sup> is the oldest one known and confirms the French influence. Further, there are a few effigies of civilians in handwork of a very coarse character in the province of Friesland,<sup>13</sup> and in Roermond the well-known double effigy of a lady and a civilian (though unfortunately this is not genuine).<sup>14</sup>

Though the earliest medieval effigies seem to be German, and several fine and typical early effigies have been preserved,<sup>15</sup> the lead in effigy sculpture was soon taken over by France. In the 13th century the German effigies were mainly inspired by French examples, and the knightly figures in particular followed the French models at a rather late date.<sup>16</sup>

In Belgium a larger number of early effigies have survived than in Holland; they are all of them well catalogued and described,<sup>17</sup> and there is a particularly fine knightly effigy at Ghent. The overall impression is French.

Spain was French inspired with the exception of a small group of cross-legged knights of the late 13th century, which stand out strikingly in contrast with the general national tradition.<sup>18</sup>

Because of the divergence from French characteristics the 13th century effigies in England occupy a distinctive place among other European effigies of the same period, and the knightly effigies in particular cannot be treated as an offshoot from sculpture abroad.

Having chosen to study the early effigies in England I have had to restrict myself to what can reasonably be done within the limits of a single study. The sheer number of English effigies prevented an all-inclusive survey if I was to take into account all the details that needed investigation. I thus gradually came to the conclusion that this study would gain in clarity and usefulness if I left out all ecclesiastical effigies. As far as the effigies of archbishops and bishops are concerned, such a decision hardly needs

defending, as these effigies have already been the subject of considerable investigation and are far better known. This is also true, though to a somewhat lesser extent, of the effigies of abbots, deacons and of an occasional abbeſs. The decision to leave out all the eccleſiaſtical effigies unfortunately alſo implied leaving out the much ſimpler effigies of the common prieſts. Theſe effigies are far leſs well known and certainly need to be ſtudied anew. But it would not be logical to ſelect one group of eccleſiaſtical effigies leaving the others for ſeparate ſtudies. As for the eccleſiaſtical effigies in general, the earlieſt examples ſtart more than a half century earlier than the non-eccleſiaſtical ones, and their number up to c1300 amounts to over a hundred. Further it ſhould be noted that they conform more to traditional rules than other effigies.<sup>19</sup> One gets the impreſſion that carvers of eccleſiaſtical effigies were bound to ſtrict rules from which they were not allowed to deviate, whereas the carvers of other effigies, eſpecially the knightly ones, were much freer. It is becauſe of this greater freedom in expreſſion that a ſtudy of non-eccleſiaſtical effigies will yield the moſt ſatisfactory reſults with regard to the development of ſculpture. One may indeed ſay that non-eccleſiaſtical, and eſpecially knightly, effigies form a very important aſpect of medieval Engliſh ſculpture. This even applies to the 13th century, in which the ſecular effigies appeared for the firſt time. But although eccleſiaſtical effigies are not within the ſcope of my work, I will refer to them by way of comparison. Three types of effigies remain as the ſubject proper: 1) thoſe of knights, 2) thoſe of ladies and 3) others to be called civilians; of theſe three types the knightly effigies form by far the greateſt group.

This ſtudy does not include ſemi-effigial ſlabs, i.e. ſlabs on which only the head and the feet of the figure have been ſculpted in relief (moſtly ſunk), while the reſt is treated as part of the ſlab that is often adorned with a floriated croſs. They can better be ſtudied in connection with ſlabs. Boutell in 1845 devoted a ſeparate ſtudy to theſe ſemi-effigial ſlabs, but more modern ſtudies deal with them under grave ſlabs in general.<sup>20</sup> This type of ſlab ſeems eſpecially to occur in the Lincoln and Yorkſhire diſtricts. Nor does this ſtudy include incised ſlabs. The recent work on this ſubject is the formidable ſtudy in two volumes by Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs* (1976). The author, after a life-long ſtudy, has tried to catalogue all medieval incised ſlabs of every country of the

western world. How far he has been successful is not here to be decided. As the author is English the section on English incised slabs seems very complete indeed, though some traditional dates seem questionable to me. The book is invaluable as a work of reference. With the effigy at Bitton we have a transitional case, the head being in middle relief and the rest of the figure incised. This effigy is, exceptionally, included in my study, as is a similar effigy at Toppesfield, hidden below the organ at the moment and, incidentally, not mentioned by Greenhill.

Apart from limiting myself to certain types of effigies, I also felt the need to confine myself to a limited area. The area included England proper, thus excluding effigies found in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. This is not only because these effigies are mostly lagging behind the mainstream of stylistic development in England, but also because most of them have recently found their historians. As far as Wales is concerned the northern region has been admirably covered by Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales* (1968). The effigies in Scotland have been studied by Brydall in an article of 1894-5,<sup>21</sup> and in a recent work, of 1977, on the Western Highlands by Steer and Banneman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*. Ireland has been fully and admirably covered in two volumes by Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600* (1974). As for England no such comprehensive study exists. I have tried to make a contribution towards such a study by closely investigating the earlier, non-ecclesiastical effigies.

The next limit that had to be set was the period of time. As indicated above, I want to occupy myself with the earlier, non-ecclesiastical effigies. The starting point is not difficult to make. None of the effigies concerned date from before 1200, the earliest probably being the lower part of an effigy of a civilian at Bures (pl. 174), which may indeed date from the early years of the 13th century. But where is one to stop? If you take the 13th century you naturally meet at the end the effigies of Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline in Westminster Abbey (pls 126 + 134). They are lying inside elaborate tomb structures that have been described in detail by several authors. Though the effigies themselves have not been studied so well, it is clear that these two effigies represent a new type. It is the new quiet style of the London workshops showing an immediate and far-reaching influence on later effigies. The effigies are represented as praying, lying down in an easy

recumbency expressed by the graceful bend to the axis line of the figure, all done in a completely free technique of effigy carving. Owing to lack of any documentary evidence, neither of the effigies nor the tomb structures can be dated exactly, and next to the normally accepted date of 'c1295-1300' dates of 'c1300' or even 'early 14th century' have been brought forward. I have taken over the first mentioned date principally because of the accurate descriptions by Stone<sup>22</sup> and especially his accurate analysis of the differences between the two tombs and the adjoining, rather similar but definitely much later, tomb of Aymer de Valence. A borderline between 'late 13th century', 'c1300' and 'early 14th century' for all effigies will be very difficult to fix conclusively, but I think effigies can be grouped together and can be differentiated according to characteristics dating from before or after the Westminster effigies. Such general groups can be defined, I think, and even provincial works can, to a certain extent, be dated in this way, especially if all kinds of minor detail are also taken into account. Yet I am aware that more studies on effigies of 'c1300' and 'early 14th century' will be needed — there are altogether more than 400 of them up to c1325. The accent of this study, however, lies on effigies of the middle and the third quarter of the 13th century.

Having set these limits the next thing to do was to make lists of effigies normally dated a) '13th century', b) 'c1300', and c) 'early 14th century', with d) a separate group to which no historian seems to have dared to give a date at all. I started with *The Buildings of England* series (shortened BE), edited and for the greater part written by Pevsner, and further the volumes of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM), which, though excellent in every other respect, are very slow in appearing. Next I have checked the volumes of the Victoria County Histories (VCH), which mostly mention the effigies, but seldom go into details. Moreover the dates attributed there are usually traditional and can no longer be relied on. These lists had then to be completed from a variety of sources, from the great many county periodicals and elsewhere, including several series of popular guides. The next step was to inspect all the effigies of a) and of d); most of b); and a few of c), namely where the descriptions were either too vague to be relied on or where some special details mentioned invited further study. Photographs of all the effigies inspected had to be made, supplemented by photographs from certain collections in



London,<sup>23</sup> which were, however, rather haphazard as far as photographs of effigies are concerned (no systematical collections of photographs of effigies seem to exist). I think that I have thus come to a fairly complete list of 13th century non-ecclesiastical effigies. Some additions may perhaps have to be made later, from museums or store rooms of abbey ruins, but as far as I can see their number will be very small.

In any attempt at describing effigies of which no documentary data exist, one should aim at establishing certain characteristics that can be taken as criteria for dating. Such characteristics should be relevant for dating an effigy to the 13th century and, secondly, for dating the 13th century effigies themselves to narrower periods such as mid 13th century, 3rd quarter and late 13th century. To account for my way of describing the effigies in this study, it will be necessary to consider what has been done by other authors on this subject.

Though all the effigies seem to have been recorded somewhere, there still are several effigies that have merely been mentioned once or twice as existing in a certain place, whereas others have been the subject of thorough studies. When we study the relevant material we notice in the first place the works of such early writers as Weever and Leland on the one hand and the collections of printed drawings by Gough, Stothard, Blore and T. and G. Hollis on the other hand. The deficiencies of these works have long been known: wrong dating, lack of critical investigation and over-reliance on oral tradition.<sup>24</sup> Nowadays, I think, we are coming more to stress the positive points of these works. At such an early date the very attention to effigies is remarkable and there may even be some truth behind the gossip; furthermore the quality of the drawings made in the 18th and 19th century is excellent.<sup>25</sup>

In the second place we have the authors of the great and extensive county histories mentioning effigies inside the church buildings, and the many 19th and early 20th century authors of articles in the innumerable county periodicals. A few of the latter articles have resulted in separate publications. When the authors of the county histories mention the effigies they do so mainly because they are interested in the persons behind the effigies. The effigies are only a motive to indulge in heraldic and genealogical intricacies. This interest in tracing the historical original of the effigy seems to be typically English,<sup>26</sup> but it is often conducted at the expense of a

critical examination of the effigies themselves, and leads to a neglect of their appreciation as works of art. Moreover, this attitude is more often than not a hindrance to the proper dating and classification of the effigies of this early period. The way in which the old county histories connect historical person and effigy is mostly very fanciful indeed. The best known name of a certain person at a certain place and at a certain period is taken to be commemorated by an effigy which, without scientific basis, is considered to date from that period. And then the effigy is taken to be firmly dated, because it can be connected with a historical person.<sup>27</sup> These old county histories, of course, remain important, if only for the mere mentioning of the effigies at the time, and especially if something is said about inscriptions that were then still visible, traces of colour, the place occupied inside the church building, the state of preservation, and, of course, for mentioning effigies that have since disappeared. But we should not let ourselves be too impressed by the extensive descriptions of genealogy and heraldry when they are linked with an actual effigy.

Heraldry is of little use where the 13th century is concerned.<sup>28</sup> Of painted heraldic devices practically nothing has survived. But even if some report of a painted charge exists, or where we have sculpted charges on the shield of military effigies, it is difficult to tell which particular person was commemorated by such an effigy. A critical view of heraldic evidence often shows that three or more historical persons, father, son or grandson, could be referred to, thus bridging a period of a generation.<sup>29</sup> Something else that has not been sufficiently realized is the fact that the date of death of a certain person need not at all coincide with the creation of his effigy. There are many possibilities. Monuments could be ordered during one's lifetime, they could be erected shortly after death, but also even many years later. The latter custom often occurred in the 13th century:<sup>30</sup> the effigy of King Henry III was made 20 years after his death,<sup>31</sup> which does not seem to be exceptional; the effigy in Gloucester Cathedral may well represent the Duke of Normandy who died in 1134, but the effigy was certainly not made before the end of the 13th century.<sup>32</sup> Many more examples can be cited, and the two coherent series of episcopal effigies at Wells and at Hereford form another proof.<sup>33</sup> The regular custom of erecting effigies for persons just deceased had not yet become well established.<sup>34</sup> Further it should be noted that, with the exception of the two effi-

gies of Queen Eleanor and King Henry III, no effigies are known for which any documentary evidence whatsoever has been brought to light. No orders, no bills, no names of carvers can be connected with any particular effigy.

Several of the articles on effigies found in the county periodicals take the form of inventories. Several counties have been covered extensively in this way, while some others do not seem to have found their effigy historians yet. The absence of good inventories is conspicuous for such a county as Lincolnshire, while the counties of Cornwall, Hampshire and Suffolk do not fare much better. As for the counties of Lancashire, Oxfordshire and Sussex, most of the effigies there have found a historian, but no systematical inventory seems to have been attempted. When such inventories do exist, the effigies are often described in great detail, while the mere existence of an inventory is very valuable in itself. Apart from the fact that many of these articles pay too much attention to heraldry and genealogy<sup>35</sup> they suffer from two other serious drawbacks. The first drawback is that the often very accurate description only deal with the aspects of dress and armour, to the virtual exclusion of other aspects. However important such descriptions may be for the history of dress and armour, effigies have, of course, other important aspects that need investigating. There are exceptions, however, and a good example of a more varied and inclusive description is the work by Hunter Blair on the effigies in County Durham and in Northumberland, though even with him armour and dress are somewhat overstressed.<sup>36</sup> A few years earlier I'Anson had done something similar for Yorkshire effigies,<sup>37</sup> though his way of reasoning seems to be less convincing. Both authors arrived at much later dates for their effigies than normally accepted. The result was that both authors, I'Anson immediately and Hunter Blair after some time, were accused of postdating.<sup>38</sup> Yet their dates do not seem to be so unconvincing nowadays. One of the results of the present study has been that many effigies that were at one time dated '13th century' have had to be removed to a later date.

The second drawback refers to the extent of the areas covered. Attention to effigies just across the border of the counties is practically non-existent; this is true not only of 19th century authors, but also of those of the 20th century. Though this lack of interest is often understandable, it sometimes leads to strange results.<sup>39</sup> County

boundaries do not mean much where artistic works are concerned.

Further, there are the scattered articles on separate effigies or small groups, written by a number of earlier historians. Not only the names of Bloxam, Hartshorne and St John Hope,<sup>40</sup> but also Wilford and Way turn up again and again in several periodicals of the 19th century. Yet however detailed and valuable their descriptions may be, the drawbacks seem to be of the same kinds: there is often too much stress on dress and armour (and genealogical interest), too little attention to sculptural style, and the absence of a more comprehensive view of larger numbers of effigies.

No complete survey of all English effigies exists. Nor is there any survey for the 13th century, the first century in which effigies of knights, ladies and civilians occurred. Some attempts have been made at the definitive ordering of medieval effigies, notably by Prior and Gardner in their work *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (1912). A quarter of the book deals with effigies. The book has long been the standard work, and after some years the findings were more or less repeated in a more handy form by Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture*.<sup>41</sup> In many respects, however, the work is being superseded by modern research, especially as far as dating is concerned. Though many effigies are dealt with in both books, many others do not seem to have been studied.<sup>42</sup> For the 13th century secular effigies some 80 out of more than 200 are listed. Although the five aspects of subject, material, costume, attitude and accessories are said to have been taken into account,<sup>43</sup> it seems to be the details and characteristics of dress and armour that have formed the authors' criteria for defining the order of medieval effigies. Small details of dress, such as the lengths of the surcoats and the forms of the shields for military effigies, appear to have been used as the decisive aspects for determining an early or a late date.<sup>44</sup> Hardly any attention has been given to the way the body is sculpted. What is said about attitude is very sparse indeed and wholly unconvincing. Prior and Gardner's work is no longer a reliable source of information, though the general divisions and the great number of illustrations make it a reference book of great value. Crossley's *English Church Monuments* (1921) deals with the several types and aspects of monuments but the greater part of the book is taken up with later monuments, and for the 13th century very few effigies are mentioned as representative examples.

Most of the authors referred to so far have yet another characteristic in common: there is still a romantic tinge clinging to the way they write. The great romantic approach to medieval art, so typical of the 19th century, lingered on well into the 20th century. It was only after the Second World War that this romantic approach was superseded by a more dispassionate one. Stone in his work *Sculpture in Britain, the Middle Ages* (1955) is a clear exponent of a more modern approach. This book seems to be the very first in England that tries to 'evolve a detailed chronological classification on the basis of stylistic development'.<sup>45</sup> Though the author could not be very elaborate on all effigies, his conclusion as to military effigies is clear enough: 'the final arrangement of these thirteenth-century military effigies has yet to be undertaken'.<sup>46</sup> It was he who was the first to point out that in taking details of dress and armour as decisive indications, Prior and Gardner were on the wrong track: 'The most reliable evidence for dating . . . tends to be the attitude and treatment of body and to a lesser extent the style of drapery, supported so far as possible by the details of costume'.<sup>47</sup> Details of dress and armour changed too gradually and at too irregular a pace to be of more than secondary evidence for 13th century effigies: attitude should come first.

Andersson, perhaps one of the first authors not hampered by a romantic outlook, has also criticized Prior and Gardner's dates.<sup>48</sup> The pages he devoted in his *English Influence on Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture* (1950) to several effigies of the so-called Wells School, and of the London School of Purbeck Marble, clearly show his close attention to stylistic differences and similarities which can lead to defining groups of effigies.

The division into 'schools' as made by Prior and Gardner appears to be rather superficial. The differences seen by these two authors between effigies from the London workshops, from the West Country and from the North is certainly valuable, but only in a very general way. 'Schools' is a word we should be careful with for the 13th century. Too few effigies have survived to enable us to distinguish, more than tentatively, a particular school or workshop. Only in an exceptional case does this seem possible, and then only by allowing for many individual and chronological divergences. The word 'groups' is to be preferred: instead of clearly defined workshops it is chronological periods in and between groups of effigies that are mostly much easier to define.<sup>49</sup> On the whole I



have tried to come to a chronological classification of 13th century non-ecclesiastical effigies, and in this way the one or two more or less distinct workshops become clear enough. I have based myself in the first place on a stylistic analysis of the available effigies. A close description of the attitude and the way the figure is lying down is of prime importance. Further, of course, I have collected as many details as possible. Accumulation of details appears to be very useful and in a few cases it leads to virtually inevitable conclusions.

All this has led me to divide my work, apart from this introductory chapter, into three main chapters. There will be a chapter with a description of the several accessories to the effigy, the tomb chest, the canopy, the recess, the head and foot supports, followed by a chapter on the details of dress and armour. This again is followed by a chapter on the attitude of the figure, in which the various positions of the arms and the legs and the resulting bend to the whole body will be discussed. By taking this order the importance of the last chapter will reveal itself clearly enough. The three main chapters will be followed by a conclusion, and an appendix consisting of a list of all 13th century non-ecclesiastical effigies.

It is my aim to arrive at a survey of the different groups of all genuine 13th century effigies that do not refer to ecclesiastical persons. I think that this can be done on the principles set out above. Such a survey may then be the point of departure for further investigation and further studies. More can still be done on documentary evidence for the individual effigies. I have not been able to check unprinted sources, but expectations are not very high. Patient and laborious research may perhaps yield a few scraps here and there, for which this study, I hope, may provide a useful start. In this way I hope to have contributed to a better knowledge of 13th century English effigies, and implicitly of English medieval sculpture, of which these early secular effigies form an integral and important part.

## 1.2 *Materials used*

As every style to be seen in sculpture is to some extent influenced by the nature of the material used, some knowledge of the materials will be necessary for a better understanding of the sculpture in question. Something, therefore, has to be said of the kinds of stone used for monumental effigies in 13th century England.

Of all stone used for carving in the 13th century, Purbeck marble is the best known.<sup>50</sup> Though not marble proper, it is the nearest equivalent in the British Isles. Its colour may vary, and it is rather hard and not easy to work. When finished by polishing, the surfaces are smooth and attractive to look at. Purbeck marble was originally used as a substitute for Tournai marble, since the latter had to be imported and was more expensive.<sup>51</sup> The main factor, however, for the rapid spread of Purbeck for effigies was that the important workshops for Purbeck marble were situated in London. It was quarried at Corfe in Dorset, where it took its name from the Isle of Purbeck. Some preliminary carving was done near the quarries at Corfe, as is proved by the debris found there.<sup>52</sup> Some effigies were even finished on the spot. London, however, had the main workshops for carving Purbeck marble into funerary effigies, and it was here that the typical Purbeck marble style was created.<sup>53</sup> The better carvers and the stone-masons moved from the Corfe area to London. Those who stayed and worked at Corfe, or other places in the South of England, seem to have been the less expert craftsmen.<sup>54</sup> As to the style itself, at first it was a bold and firm style due to the hardness of the material. But as the London style ultimately derived from the art and craftsmanship of the Meuse Valley of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century,<sup>55</sup> it gradually developed into a soft, rich goldsmithlike style, which is so typical of the London School of Purbeck Marblers. Yet already at an early date rival 'marbles' were used locally: names such as Sussex marble, Forest marble, Frosterley marble (also called Stanhope marble or 'Blewe Marble') and Petworth marble, refer to the district, place or colour of the special kind of marble that was used locally.<sup>56</sup>

Next to marble comes the so-called 'Freestone'. It can be any kind of stone that is not marble. The word 'Freestone' itself is therefore of little use as a term of precise definition. Freestone was already used early in the century, especially in the southern districts, concurrently with marble. My findings are that for the middle of the century Purbeck marble and freestone were both used extensively for effigies emanating from the centres of London and Wells. For the third quarter of the century Purbeck marble seems to have superseded freestone, while for the end of the century freestone seems to have been used to a far greater extent.<sup>57</sup> One of the reasons why freestone got the upper hand over Purbeck

marble was the fact that it could be worked much more easily. As every effigy came to be painted, it did not matter if the effigy itself should be of the harder and more costly marble or of any other kind of stone.<sup>58</sup> A number of different kinds of freestone that were used for sculpture in the 13th century may be mentioned here, grouped more or less according to the districts in which they occurred.<sup>59</sup>

In the south-western area, four kinds of oolite are chiefly found. There is the Douling stone quarried near Shepton Mallet not far from Wells. Practically the whole west front of Wells Cathedral is made of Douling stone. The use of the stone was limited to a very small area and it is safe to say that almost every sculpture made of Douling stone in the years following the creation of the Wells front derives its style from this centre.<sup>60</sup> Further, there are the other oolites, Dundry Hill, Ham Hill and the Greater Oolite of the Bristol and Bath areas. As these stones were not available in high beds the effigies had to be rendered flatly and the projecting details of nose, hands etc. had to be kept within bounds.

Apart from the oolites there are Beer stone from Beer, in Devon, and Portland and Chilwark stone in Wiltshire.<sup>61</sup> Various kinds of sandstone of different colours were used in the Midlands. These stones were soft and easy to work and they could often be had in very large blocks. The effect this had on the general style was a blunt rendering of features because of the soft, granular texture of the stone. The sharp incisions of the oolite and the marble effigies are lacking. The large blocks also made it possible to have an elaborately carved canopy over the head of the effigy. Chronologically the use of sandstone seems to have been later than that of oolite.

The typical stone of the north-eastern areas was magnesian limestone from the principal quarry at Tadcaster in Yorkshire and in frequent use from c1300 onwards at for instance York, Beverley and Southwell. The surface texture is somewhat like marble, but unlike the latter it could be had in large blocks and it could easily be worked like sandstone. The resultant characteristic style is the broad, flowing manner quite different from the bluntness of the sandstones and the sharpness of marble and some of the oolites. Other stones were also used, such as the hard gritstones in areas north of York, the finer kinds of oolite from Tadcaster in Lincolnshire and the coarser oolite from Barnack in Northamptonshire.

South of London are further found 'clunch', a soft chalky limestone, and the greenish sandstone from Reigate in Sussex.

Alabaster was not used on effigies in the round in the 13th century.<sup>62</sup> Some of the earliest effigies made of this material are a knight at Hanbury, Staffs., and a knight at Bedale, Yorks. Neither of them can be dated before the early 14th century. Remarkably enough the effigy at Bedale has only recently been found to be of alabaster; hitherto it was supposed to be of magnesian limestone.<sup>63</sup> Bronze was used at the end of the 13th century for the two exceptional royal effigies at Westminster. No knightly effigy of the 13th century was made of bronze.

Of the so-called Brasses, three of them which were previously dated late 13th century and c1300 are now thought to have been made a quarter of a century later.<sup>64</sup> This is of course important for the armour so accurately depicted on them and for the attitude of the figures. The hands, for instance, are always folded in prayer, and the sword-drawing type of knight is never represented on brasses; this is consistent with the findings of this study. Judging from the quiet style prevailing at the Court at the time (see page 113) the centre was also very probably London.

Wood was also important. Some 80 effigies survive from between 1280 and 1360, but only a small number of them can be assigned to the 13th century.<sup>65</sup> Wooden effigies were common in London and in the counties north-east of it where stone was scarce and wood plentiful. London seems to have been the major centre as all wooden effigies in England show characteristics of the Westminster style of about 1300.<sup>66</sup> A minor workshop may have existed in Bristol or its neighbourhood in the last years of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. Five wooden effigies dated to this period still exist in this area.<sup>67</sup> The use of wood for effigies, however, did not result in a style typical of the material. But as Pevsner has pointed out, the use of wood for funerary sculpture in England at such an early date was unique in Western Europe.<sup>68</sup>

It might be tempting to base the study of effigies on the geological nature of the material used.<sup>69</sup> Firm attributions to different quarries would be the result, as well as a more precise description of certain local schools. Much has still to be done in this respect as many effigies do not seem to have been accurately described in relation to this point. Yet such a study could easily over-emphasize

the geological nature of the material to the exclusion or neglect of more important criteria for determining schools of sculpture.

Moreover, such a study would only be possible if each carving centre had been dependent on only one kind of stone. This, however, is not the case. One kind of stone may have been predominant in a certain area but other stones were also used. The quarries near Corfe not only produced Purbeck marble but also some kinds of freestone,<sup>70</sup> and in London, where Purbeck marble was predominant, other stones were not lacking. Of the eight 13th century knightly effigies in Temple Church four are of Purbeck marble, two of Sussex marble and two of Reigate stone.<sup>71</sup> In the south-west of England oolites were not the only stones. Sandstone was also used, though mostly somewhat later. In the Midlands, where sandstone was predominant, other kinds of stone such as limestones and oolites as well as Forest marble were also found. The explanation is simple enough. Blocks of stone could be carried relatively easily from a given quarry to almost any place in England, along reasonably good roads and, especially, up and down waterways. Shiploads of stones over large distances are recorded in many documents.<sup>72</sup> Blocks of stone used for sepulchral monuments were of relatively small size and the necessary quantity was always limited. Any lord might choose and order the stone he liked for his own monument or for the monument he wanted to erect for a member of his family or ancestors.

In Salisbury Cathedral there are two series of heads, one made of Purbeck marble and the other of Chilwark stone. It was formerly thought that the series derived from two separate workshops, but this need not at all be the case.<sup>73</sup> Then there is the problem, already mentioned, of the effigies being painted, as a result of which the exact material used is no longer visible. The use of rival marble<sup>e</sup> also clearly pleads against depending too much on geological evidence in grouping and dating effigies. I have also found that one kind of stone or marble can show remarkable varieties,<sup>74</sup> which makes determination difficult. It also appears to have been a common practice to borrow details, and the influence of a successful type of effigy appears to have been widespread, as shown below with the sword-drawing type of knight and the cross-legged position of so many effigies.

An attempt to base a study on effigies from the Bristol area on the geological nature of the stone has been made by Fryer.<sup>75</sup>

He has described in detail the monuments made of the four oolites and contrasted them with those made of other kinds of stone. Although valuable in many respects the study did not result in clear stylistic differences sufficient to distinguish three or four different schools centring round the different quarries.<sup>76</sup> The decisive factor which makes the monuments described in this study form one more or less distinct group is that of style. It is, therefore, the central workshop having a style of its own that is most important, not the geological nature of the stone used.

It is to be expected that other studies based on the nature of the material used will come to the same conclusion, viz. that the kind of stone used is never the decisive factor in forming a distinct school. The kind of stone forms only one element, often a minor one, among many other details (of clothes, general attitude and state of recumbency) that constitute a stylistic phase or group. Some broad distinctions of style can, however, be made: the bluntness with sandstone; the sharpness and details of lines with marble; the flat carving with oolite; and the flowing character with limestone figures. Knowledge of the stone used may be helpful to define similarities or differences in style, but it can hardly ever be the decisive factor.

Some attention should also be drawn here to the fact that the effigies were originally painted in bright colours.<sup>77</sup> It has not yet been proved beyond doubt that all early effigies were painted: some Purbeck marble effigies received such a smooth finish that one wonders if this was not final.<sup>78</sup> In the beginning paint may only have been used for such details as the colourful heraldic and other devices on shields, surcoats and robes. Yet in general one could say that practically all 13th century effigies were indeed painted. Painting has definitely been used on the effigy of King John in Worcester Cathedral,<sup>79</sup> and on at least one knightly effigy in Temple Church, London.<sup>80</sup> Traces of paint have also been found on the effigies at Ashendon, Curry Rivel, Lewes, Pitchford, Salisbury, Tilton and Woodford,<sup>81</sup> and there may be more.<sup>82</sup> As several vestiges of paint are now being found in the course of the cleaning of the statues on the front of Wells Cathedral, more might also be expected on effigies, if they were cleaned and restored as thoroughly. A good and reliable source for an insight into the colourfulness of the original effigies is the exquisite coloured drawings made by Stothard.<sup>83</sup>

As a kind of underpaint, gesso was used, of which traces have also been found. A thicker layer of gesso was sometimes used on several parts of knightly effigies where otherwise the mail would have been carved. On this layer of gesso the mail seems then mostly to have been stamped with a matrix, and only sometimes painted.<sup>84</sup> Mail that was not carved but rendered in this way is a clearly late characteristic, the earliest instances probably being the effigies at Furness and Rampton. The two bronze effigies in Westminster Abbey were finely gilded, and a few traces of the original gilding have been preserved.<sup>85</sup>

1.3 *Some remarks on the persons commemorated. Their social status. The outlook on life*

We no longer know the originals of most of the effigies in this study. Documentary evidence certainly exists for the effigies of Queen Eleanor and King Henry III.<sup>86</sup> With some other effigies definite persons can be brought forward on the basis of the figure represented and the opening of the tomb (King John in Worcester Cathedral),<sup>87</sup> on the basis of heraldry and/or inscription (the effigies of Edmund Crouchback, his wife Aveline, William de Valence in Westminster Abbey, and of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral).<sup>88</sup> In the absence of documentary evidence, the date of death in these cases cannot be taken automatically as the date of origin of the effigies themselves. Then there are the effigies with inscriptions referring to persons that are not known to the historians (Compton Martin—Thos de Mortone; Newton by Toft—Helaine and William; and Wistow—Dame Margery), while the name of Alberic de Vere at Bures may possibly refer to a person of that name in the middle of the 12th century.<sup>89</sup> We are a little more certain about the effigies at Horton, Pitchford and Tilton. On the basis of an inscription and heraldic evidence the effigies at Tilton may with a high degree of certainty be connected with people known historically. Strong heraldic evidence also exists for the effigies at Horton and Pitchford.<sup>90</sup> In the light of stylistic evidence, however, the effigies at Tilton seem to be later and those at Horton somewhat earlier than the known dates of death, while at Pitchford the date of death concurs with the date based on stylistic grounds.

In other cases the connection established between effigies and historical persons remains more or less vague. This is true of some

of the effigies in Temple Church, London, though there is some force in the long and general tradition that they are, not Templars of course, but members of the great Marshall family and their connections, who were the principal patrons of the New Temple.<sup>91</sup> In the same way the tradition going back to the 16th and 17th century that the wooden effigy in Gloucester Cathedral was put up in honour of Robert Courthose, Duke of Normandy, cannot be neglected.<sup>92</sup> The same is true of the 15th century inscription found on the slab of one of the two effigies in the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.<sup>93</sup>

In 16 cases the charges on the shields of knightly effigies were sculpted instead of painted and thus provide certain armorial evidence that has survived intact. The effigies at Horton, Salisbury (I), Temple Church (II + III) and Tilton have been mentioned already. At Berwick St John no name can apparently be connected with the armorial charges, while at Blyth, Kemble, Whitworth and Wickhampton names have been brought forward but without much genealogical proof.<sup>94</sup> With the others, at Bitton, Bulmer, Cogenhoe, Down Ampney, Nettlecombe and Wareham (I), the family name seems to have been proved, although the exact name of the individual commemorated has remained more or less guesswork.<sup>95</sup>

With others again there seems to be less certainty. The reports of such early county historians as Atkyn, Blomefield, Collinson, Hutchins, Nichols and others writing in the 17th and 18th century cannot be totally neglected. Yet these reports need further investigation, especially if the authors cannot come nearer to any certainty than 'by report', 'according to tradition', 'said to be' and so on. Great care is required in evaluating the traditional descriptions of one-time painted charges.<sup>96</sup> A great deal of doubt remains when certain names are given to effigies purely on the basis of their location.<sup>97</sup> Several times two or even three names have been brought forward independently of each other.<sup>98</sup> Often it is stated that the oldest effigy in a church building commemorates the founder and then, when a family name is mentioned, the oldest person with this name is connected with the effigy.<sup>99</sup> Or just the name of the place in which the church is found is taken as the name of the lord who has founded the village and/or the church building.<sup>100</sup> And effigies of ladies are all too easily connected with effigies of knights or civilians if they happen to have been preserved nearby.<sup>101</sup> As for my investigations of 13th century effigies, I have



found 83 cases—partially preserved effigies included—for which no name at all of the person commemorated seems to have survived.

Though it is difficult to bring forward particular persons known historically, something can be said about the different groups and social classes to which the subjects of the effigies belonged. The persons represented by the effigies are first of all men in armour, generally called knights, secondly women fashionably dressed as ladies, and lastly other civilians in simpler garments. For the 13th century this means the people of the new middle class land-owning group,<sup>102</sup> the persons who were the most important laymen of a village or a small town.

As for the knightly effigies of the 13th century they represent the 'knights of the shire'.<sup>103</sup> These were the knights that normally no longer fought in the army. There were still knights in the army, but by now these were mostly landless knights, and not, as yet, lords of a large, self-supporting estate. The knights in the army were the 'knights bachelor' and the 'knights banneret', and at the King's court the 'king's knights' and the 'comilitones', all of which names designate different ranks. The 'enfeoffed knights' were the inheritors of great estates. These lords stayed at home taking care of their property, their domain, and gradually more and more the public affairs of the village. By the beginning of the 13th century they had become the 'knights of the shire', who had gained a predominant position in local government. They were really the King's administrators in the country, especially in the local administration of justice. Such knights were of noble birth, had been dubbed knights with some ceremony, had fought in a tournament to prove their ability, and had when young probably spent some time in the King's army. Such knights were perhaps rather conservative, since they still retained all the costly equipment which a knight was formally obliged to possess and which the other people in administrative business no longer thought necessary. It is these non-knightly administrators, with important functions in the village or town communities but without being the inheritors of large estates, who are represented by the civilian effigies. The borderline between the two groups cannot always have been very marked, as persons of either group sometimes held similar functions. There are indeed a few effigies that show the fluctuating line between the two groups. The knightly effigy at Pitchford was almost

certainly put up for a knight that at one time was a sheriff.<sup>104</sup> The horn held by the knightly effigy at Pershore designates something more than a knight, perhaps a forest ranger who may have held land in one way or another.<sup>105</sup> If the double effigy at Winterbourne Bassett refers to a certain Sir Philip Bassett and his wife (which is far from certain), the male, civilian effigy represents a justiciar.<sup>106</sup> Even more telling are the two civilian effigies at Compton Martin and Paulton. Although clothed in civilian dress the former holds a sword and the latter is depicted with a shield and a large sword on a sword-belt.<sup>107</sup> The effigies of ladies will refer to the wives of the 'knights of the shire' and the civilians described above, but also to important female landowners in their own right. Such ladies, unmarried women or widows, were not entitled to public duties, but as for private rights and duties they were on a par with men. Such great ladies had often more influence and were often more considerable figures than many men of lesser rank or smaller possessions.<sup>108</sup>

All these people must have been wealthy and living in considerable style. By c1280 the economic and social structure of medieval England had reached its apogee.<sup>109</sup> Such people, especially the landed knights and ladies, would often be the benefactors of the parish church or the abbey. Such a lord would order a monumental effigy for himself, his wife, the members of his family, his father or ancestor, and the lady would do likewise. It is thus understandable that many of these effigies should be found in village churches.

The status of these people may further be illustrated by the fact that the dress shown on their effigies is the same as the dress shown by people of the highest rank in the country. There is no real difference in armour between the great barons of the country and the provincial 'knight of the shire' in a village, between the dress of the lady effigies that can be connected with the court and those of the ladies of the landed gentry in the villages. The difference only lies in the costliness of the effigies, in the greater, sometimes telling, details of the garments and such extra adornments as gems and studs. With the effigies of civilians it is a somewhat different matter. The very simple dress worn by several of them may well indicate commoner burghers, whereas other civilian effigies showing extra garments, mainly an extra mantle, may indicate nobles. The two effigies of kings, in Westminster Abbey

and Worcester Cathedral, classed in this study with the civilian effigies, naturally show a more elaborate dress. A detailed description of the dresses worn by the effigies will be given in the third chapter.

The poorer sculptural quality may sometimes indicate less wealthy people, as one is inclined to think with such simple handicraft works as at Llangerron and Tideswell. But we should be careful here. The non-availability of more professional mason-carvers in such far-away places may be reason enough to explain the simplicity in the effigies which need not necessarily indicate less wealthy people. Even a slab on which just any kind of figure was sufficient cannot then have been a cheap affair. In my opinion it is oftener the smaller size of effigies which may indicate that they were put up for simpler and commoner burghers. Thus the effigies at Newton by Toft and Gloucester might well indicate less noble and more ordinary people than the persons commemorated by life-size effigies.

Another point is the existence of double effigies.<sup>110</sup> For the 13th century in England two groups should be distinguished. The first group involves two separate effigies—one of them usually a lady—which are so similar in conception and execution that originally they may have been set up together. This applies to the wooden pair at Woodford. They have been rather well preserved and convincingly placed next to each other. Though removed more than once, they were apparently always moved together.<sup>111</sup> Further, the effigies at Newton by Toft, Sopley, Tilton and Wickhampton seem to me so much similar in conception that they may have formed a pair. This is, of course, difficult to prove, as the effigies have been removed more than once and are no longer in their original position. It should also be stressed, for all these effigies, that we have to do with separate effigies, made of two separate blocks, with effigies individually complete in themselves. We are even less sure with such effigies as at Eltisley, because of the weathered state of preservation. At Gonalston it is the mere detail of the animal foot support which seems to be similar. We have certainly to do with different effigies at Danbury, Furness, Horton, Long Ashton, Pilton and Shepton Mallet. Here the differences both in general conception and in detail are too great to justify our speaking about pairs or couples. The effigies were probably made at different times, though not with such a great interval that the earlier effigy could not have influenced the later one. Close groups

of three or four effigies also exist, at Curry Rivel, Monkton Farleigh and Winchelsea. At Curry Rivel and Winchelsea the effigies are in separate niches, which stresses the group character. The two effigies of Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline, made about the same time, are two distinct effigies meant for two distinct tomb structures. For these two effigies the names of the husband and his wife are definitely known, but this is unfortunately not the case for the other effigies mentioned here. It is beyond doubt that the two effigies found at Down Ampney and those at Ash have nothing to do with each other, the lady at Down Ampney and the knight at Ash being of a later date.<sup>112</sup>

The second group of double effigies is the group in which we have two effigies made of one block of stone. As far as I can see only the double effigy at Winterbourne Bassett may date from the end of the 13th century. There is no reason to suggest such an early date for the double effigy at Charlton Mackrell.<sup>113</sup> A remarkable detail to be noted here is that the civilian and the lady at Winterbourne Bassett are shown holding each other's hand, a sensitive detail that is oftener seen in the 14th and 15th century.<sup>114</sup>

Much has been written about the existence of portraits in the Gothic period. Real portraits, however, do not yet exist in the 13th century.<sup>115</sup> This does not mean however that all persons are represented with exactly the same type of face. If the features of the effigies have been preserved there are differences to be detected as, to mention a few examples, between Abbey Dore (II) and Chaddesleigh Corbett, between several of the Temple Church knights (not wholly due to restoration), and between Rushton and Sandwich. The difference is even more remarkable between Temple Church (V) and Dorchester, while the contrast between the characteristic face of King Henry III and the ideal face of Queen Eleanor is well known.<sup>116</sup> One may indeed say that in spite of a generally prevalent idealized type, individual characteristics were not absent. It is even possible to detect differences in age between some of the persons represented by the effigies, and this seems to be even more true of several ecclesiastical effigies.<sup>117</sup> The theory that every person was represented at the perfect youthful age of 33 is theologically well founded, and on the whole the sculptors naturally adhered to this idea. But exceptions exist and the theory has sometimes been put far too categorically.<sup>118</sup>

The assertion that in northern Europe, in contrast to Italy, the

figures are almost always represented with open eyes is another point that needs comment. The use of open eyes is indeed the rule, but again there are exceptions. As far as the 13th century secular effigies of this study are concerned they are found at Bitton, Bristol (III), London (Temple Church VIII), Monkton Farleigh (IV; pl. 128), and Stowe-Nine-Churches, while the closed or half closed eyes at Brympton d'Evercy and London (Southwark) are probably due to restoration. The drawings by Gough of the Temple Church knightly effigies at the end of the 18th century all show closed eyes, whereas in reality only one of them has them closed: Stothard's drawings are far more accurate.<sup>119</sup> If we except the two effigies at Brympton d'Evercy and London (Southwark), it has to be said that in spite of the closed eyes it is not the dead body that is represented, as is done in Italy. The face still expresses rest and general youthfulness. The figures are represented as perfect, as having just closed their eyes in tranquillity.

Two different explanations have been adduced for the representation of either open or closed eyes. The first explanation is that open eyes are the result of the general rendering of a living body, or the result of depicting the figure waiting for eternal bliss (as opposed to the Italian way of depicting the figure on a bed of state), while closed eyes are interpreted as a logical consequence of the figure lying in an 'enfeu'. The second explanation has to do with artistic liberty.<sup>120</sup> As the effigies with closed eyes manifestly do not represent dead bodies, the difference between open and closed eyes cannot be explained as depending upon a bed of state or a figure waiting for eternity. Furthermore, the somewhat different but clearly related explanation that closed eyes in the northern countries only occur on effigies that were originally placed in 'enfeus', is not borne out by the English examples. None of the effigies mentioned can definitely be connected with recesses, while the Temple Church effigy was certainly not a recessed effigy.<sup>121</sup> Another even more important instance is provided by the series of seven bishops' effigies in Wells Cathedral. They date back to the early 13th century, and though they are represented as maturer people with closed eyes, recesses were not provided for them.<sup>122</sup> As for the secular effigies, the general idea of depicting a living body may well be combined with the concept of artistic liberty. The important point, I think is, that we do not have to do with a definite, strict rule, any more than with the matter of the

perfect age of 33. On the whole the underlying motif remains 'the representation of the *totus homo* enjoying everlasting beatitude' or more simply the dead person living on in memory as a living being.<sup>123</sup> The way this motif was expressed allowed for several variations and interpretations.

The attitude towards life that is responsible for the type of representation just described might be called 'idealistic', i.e. representing a person in the most ideal situation possible.<sup>124</sup> In the 13th century the ideal situation was inspired by a spiritual idea, that of the worth of the inner life and of life after death. This 'idealistic' attitude as expressed by funerary effigies was at its zenith in France about the middle of the 13th century. On the whole this significant form is found in England as well, but deviations from such a perfect type begin to occur already at an early date and tend to increase in number as time goes on. The effigy of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral, of c1230-40, is already typical in the languidness expressed by the turn of the head and the attitude of the right arm. The tendency to stress outer, worldly characteristics was becoming more and more noticeable. This change from an 'idealistic' towards a 'realistic' and worldly outlook was gradual, and the merging of the two is typical of many 13th century effigies in England from the middle of the century onwards.

On the whole the change towards a more worldly outlook and a greater attention to realistic detail was more apparent on secular than on ecclesiastical effigies, since the effigies of knights, ladies and civilians were obviously the more worldly ones. It is typical of the 'idealistic' attitude that there is little interest in personal detail. The growing attention to 'realism' did not go so far that we can discover 'portraits' in the modern sense of the word; it is the ideal youthful age that is represented. Neither did realism go so far that the increasingly popular attitude of recumbency became a copy of a life model. The stress was on the life beyond, and the display of a more worldly attitude could creep in only gradually. It is especially in the knightly effigies, with their great variety of different types of attitude, so typical of England from the middle of the 13th century onwards, that we see the blending of 'realistic' and 'idealistic' features, with the realistic features gradually gaining the upper hand.

## 2. THE TOMB

### 2.1 *Its place inside the church. Tomb chests and recesses*

The custom of burying people inside the church goes back to Early Christian times when one wanted to be buried as near as possible to the tomb of a particular martyr and the altar that was connected with a martyr.<sup>125</sup> Although the church authorities have never been too pleased with burials inside the church building, as is shown by the decrees of several Church Councils, and although the custom was never established by law it was connived at and at last given some sort of official recognition in the case of royalty, the clergy and pious laymen.<sup>126</sup> In the 13th century, burial inside the church building seems to have become a general custom. Yet very soon, of course, overcrowding made it "a privilege of the few rather than the right of many".<sup>127</sup> It is important to note that it was not only the clergy and royalty who had their burial place inside the church building. It applied also to those members of the laity who were famed for holiness and who had been very generous towards the foundation, the building or the re-building of the church. It is probable that all those people of outstanding position who could afford a real tomb and who were willing to pay for it got their place inside the church. None of the effigies now found inside churches but discovered some time ago lying neglected in the churchyard were graveyard monuments: they had been turned out of the church at some time or other. Neither does the fact that some tomb recesses are found built in outside walls of a church really mean that monuments in the open ever existed in the Middle Ages.<sup>128</sup>

The types of churches in which the effigial monuments were erected are an indication of the kind of persons commemorated. Thus in Westminster Abbey and such other great churches as Gloucester, Salisbury and Worcester, effigies to persons of royal blood are found. The important Temple Church in London houses the eight knightly effigies commemorating most probably members of the great Marshall family and their connections, the principal patrons of the New Temple and great barons in the country. But most important for us is the fact that two thirds of the effigies are found in parochial village churches. They are the monuments

of the 'knights of the shire' and of the members of their families, and of other important laymen closely connected with the parish church and, in some cases, responsible for its foundation.

Attention should be drawn here to those effigies commemorating laymen that are apparently closely connected with abbeys. Such a connection was not exceptional; I have listed 21 examples for the 13th century. Five effigies of knights, two of ladies and one of a civilian are found in the Benedictine Abbeys at Blyth, Great Malvern, Pershore, Shrewsbury, Earl's Colne (a civilian now at Bures),<sup>129</sup> Romsey (a lady) and Worcester (a knight and a lady). Seven knightly effigies are found in the Cistercian Abbeys at Abbey Dore (2), Furness (2), Kirkstead, Merevale and Netley. Effigies are also found in the Cluniac Abbeys at Lewes (a knight and a lady: the lady effigy now in Chichester Cathedral),<sup>130</sup> and in the Premonstratensian Abbey at Coverham (a knight) and in what is now Southwark Cathedral, London (formerly an Abbey of the Augustinian Canons; a knight). Later examples are of course also known as is shown by the early 14th century effigies at Cartmel, Fountains Abbey, Jervaulx, Winchester and York. It should be stressed that the lady effigies mentioned here do not commemorate abbesses or nuns, nor is it to be supposed that all of them were founders of the abbey. Abbots and royal persons were buried in the chapter house, and the cloister walks served as a burial place for founders as well.<sup>131</sup> Benefactors in a more general sense may also have found a resting place in the cloister walks. Owing to the destruction of the English abbeys the exact site of the effigies is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps the chapels on the outskirts of the abbey grounds may also have afforded room for effigial monuments: effigies are still found in such chapels at Furness, Kirkstead and Lewes.<sup>132</sup>

The official tombs inside the church building were set up as free-standing structures or let into recesses in the wall. In Westminster Abbey these freestanding tombs still have their original positions: the tombs of King Henry III <sup>133</sup> and Queen Eleanor are placed in the circle surrounding the shrine of St Edward the Confessor, while those of Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline have their tombs more to the west under the north arcade left of the high altar. The tomb of King John in Worcester Cathedral is placed in the middle of the presbytery in front of the high altar. When the



high altar was moved in the 13th century the tomb moved with it, keeping its place in front of it. A similar prominent place in the middle of the presbytery was probably reserved for the tomb of a knight in Gloucester Cathedral.<sup>134</sup> Yet I have not met with other clear examples of such a central placing of a tomb, which must have been far more exceptional than is normally supposed.

The arrangement of the knightly effigies in Temple Church, London (pl. 27), may, in a general way, be seen as original. The effigies are lying on their slabs almost flush with the floor, and although they have been regrouped at least twice, something like the present placing, but certainly less orderly, may well have been original.<sup>135</sup> The two effigies at Wareham come from a crypt and were also placed on ground level, towards the wall.<sup>136</sup> It is, however, highly hypothetical to assume that the effigy of a lady at Ash was placed on ground level in front of the tomb chest of her husband; <sup>137</sup> the two effigies probably just do not belong together.

Placing effigies flush with the floor was not very usual. It is only natural to assume that when they were freestanding the effigial slabs were placed on tomb chests or pedestals. Very often such freestanding structures will have been found beneath the arcades or simply against the walls of chapels or aisles. Examples of such placings, probably modern, are found at Tilton (beneath south arcade of nave) and at Pitchford (against the south wall).

None of the freestanding tombs except the few so far mentioned seem still to be in their original position. It is known that in Salisbury Cathedral the effigy of William Longespée together with its chest was removed from the north side of the Lady Chapel in 1789. The lady effigy in Worcester Cathedral is known to have been in the Charnel House chapel until 1636.<sup>138</sup> All kinds of reasons, relating to hierarchy, personal wishes and convenience, will have played a part in fixing a place for a tomb structure within a church building.

Freestanding tombs were sometimes adorned with rich canopies. The tomb chests, too, were sometimes richly decorated, yet only two of our effigies are placed in elaborate structures, those of Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline in Westminster Abbey, and only eight of them are placed on their original chests, five of them belonging to the effigies in Westminster Abbey and three others at Chichester, Pitchford and Salisbury. The two structures of Edmund Crouchback and Aveline, richly gilded and painted,

have been described in full by several authors, as has the canopy structure of the tomb of Aymer de Valence placed between them. The best description is that by Sone, whose date for the two structures 1295-1300, is certainly acceptable.<sup>139</sup> It is worth noting here that the tomb of Lady Aveline is on the whole of a simpler and perhaps an earlier design than her husband's. Both tombs do not yet show the fully Decorated forms of the tomb of Aymer de Valence, of about a generation later. A detailed analysis of the trend set by these Westminster tombs belongs to another study, as does a further investigation into the figure of Alexander of Abingdon who may have worked on them.<sup>140</sup>

As for the so-called 'weepers' under arcades, only two series belong here. Their main development took place in the 14th century and later and concerns another study. Nevertheless, we must consider here those monuments which may be said to show the forerunners of such 'weepers'. The two tombs in Westminster Abbey just mentioned show the first occurrence of them in England. They are set under trefoiled arches which are surmounted by a pointed arch and a gable. The architectural details on both tomb chests are very similar, as are the weeper figures themselves. But the figures on the Aveline tomb do not seem to be so free as those on her husband's: the S-curve seen on the husband's tomb does not occur on the figures of Aveline's tomb. Both series of 'weepers' are of a distinctly earlier style than the clearly Decorated figures on Aymer de Valence's tomb (pls 138-140).<sup>141</sup>

The first monument that comes to mind in connection with the predecessors of the 'weepers' is the shrine of Thomas de Cantilupe at Hereford. The monument dates from c1285.<sup>142</sup> The arcades on the sides are filled with knights, showing all kinds of attitudes for both arms and legs. Several of them are sitting on low stone benches and all have their feet on different animals. These knightly figures may be seen as independent predecessors of the later real 'weepers' as seen on the Westminster tombs. The lively attitude and the naturalistic folds of the surcoats make them a unique group of small sculpture. French influence may be seen in the fact that the shields are held low and the ultimate idea behind such a decoration of a tomb must also be French. Stylistically the figures have been compared with West Country sculpture: the mail on the arms shows the seams along the sleeves, a feature often seen in this area.<sup>143</sup> Apart from this, however, it is difficult to find exact

parallels, for the style and handling of these figures are very individual. It is easier to define their style in terms of period than in those of workshop characteristics. Although represented on a small scale, these knights may well be set beside those knightly effigies of which the prominent feature is their great individuality of treatment, something that was to disappear when the effigy trade became dependent on shop work.

More typical 'weepers' are seen on the tomb chest of a lady at Chichester (pl. 137). Here the small figures are set in quatrefoils, alternating with quatrefoils containing shields. Quatrefoils filled with figures, half-figures, or only heads, were a common feature on tomb chests of bishops.<sup>144</sup> The 'weeper' figures at Chichester are given full length, while half-figures, of angels, appear in the spandrels between the quatrefoils. This seems to point to a date before the Westminster tombs.

The wooden chests in Westminster Abbey (tomb of William de Valence) and at Pitchford (pl. 58) and Salisbury (I; pl. 3) are also original. The double trefoiled, broad arches at Pitchford form niches filled with shields attached to the arches by means of hooks. The niches are separated from each other by clusters of three little shafts. This decoration of the tomb chest represents a custom of before the introduction of 'weepers' in England. The individual handling agrees with the individual style of such monuments as at Chichester and the shrine of Thomas de Cantilupe at Hereford. The chest at Salisbury also shows single trefoiled arches each confined by one slightly pointed arch and separated from each other by single slender shafts.<sup>145</sup> They are of a definitely earlier style. The arches of the arcade on the tomb of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey<sup>146</sup> are more pointed and probably later than those at Pitchford.

The stone chest below the effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey<sup>147</sup> shows the same architectural niches as on the tombs of Crouchback and Aveline. But the niches contain shields as at Pitchford. The difference with Pitchford is that there are much weathered knots of leaves above the shields instead of hooks. These knots of leaves remind one of Chichester, where the shields are placed, in a less satisfactory manner, in quatrefoils. Queen Eleanor's tomb chest is transitional in more than one respect: it contains several older elements but points directly to the tomb chests of Crouchback and Aveline. The base of the tomb of King

Henry III is of foreign design. Its decoration with marble slabs in geometrical patterns and precious stones is by 'Petrus Civis Romanus' who also made the shrine of Edward the Confessor. It must have been made well before the effigy that is lying on top of it.<sup>148</sup> The few other tomb chests on which some of the effigies discussed in this study are placed, are all much later structures, as at Bridport, Gloucester (Cathedral) and Worcester (tomb of King John).

Original 13th century recesses forming a unity with the effigies in them are even more exceptional than tomb chests. All effigies have at some time been moved. If they are lying in niches now, these niches are not original, with the probable exception of two or three. Several of the recesses should be dated to the first half of the 14th century. Their details are clearly of a fully developed Decorated form as can be seen in the early ogee-arches, ball-flower ornament, openwork cusping and subcusping. Good examples are found at Berwick St John, Bishop's Cleeve, Bishop's Frome, Draycott Cerne, Eltisle, Hereford, Mautby, Rampton and Sefton. In all these places I believe that the effigies are of an older date than the recesses in which they now stand. Restoration and enlargement of the church, or shifting of the interior fittings, may have been the reason that hardly any monument in parish churches has kept its original place. There are a few early 14th century recesses which seem to retain their original effigies, as in Bristol Cathedral, Minster in Sheppey, Hereford Cathedral, and perhaps, though heavily restored, Bere Ferrers. The completeness of these few recesses, and the unity between effigy and recess, contrast strikingly with the haphazard and ill-fitting combination of most of the recesses in which 13th century effigies are found. A few examples will suffice to show the casual combination of recess and effigy met with everywhere: Axminster (pl. 148), Barton Blount (pl. 149), Chilton Foliat, Great Haseley, Iddesleigh and Sotherton (pl. 53), while in Southwark Cathedral, London (pl. 125), the recess may be entirely due to restoration work.

A difficult problem is presented by the recesses at Winchelsea (pl. 68), dating from c1310-20 to judge by the architectural details and yet apparently made for the effigies they contain. The effigies, showing a definitely older style, may have been brought here from Old Winchelsea church and may have received their niches during

the building of the new church at Winchelsea, as suggested by Drury.<sup>149</sup> The three recesses forming one whole belong certainly to the church, as do the two better known recesses in the opposite wall. But whereas in one case the effigies and recesses seem to have been designed at the same time, the older effigies in dark Sussex marble show a remarkable contrast with the much lighter coloured freestone recesses.

Late 13th century recesses together with late 13th century effigies are found at Curry Rivel (pl. 87). Although removed and replaced the effigies have almost certainly always belonged to the recesses. The larger recess in the middle and the two smaller ones at the sides form one composition. The niches consist of trefoiled arches under gables carried by two thick, short shafts with crude capitals. The gables have a very flat decoration of stiff-leaves interspersed with rosettes. The two recesses to the east are later additions, but the one to the west, although smaller and without a gable, may be of the same date as the central three. The size of the four effigies would have fitted the four earlier recesses and the whole may indeed have served as a family chapel.<sup>150</sup>

The other instance of effigy and recess belonging together is found at Long Wittenham (pls 50 + 51). Built into the south wall of the south chapel that was erected c1300, it consists of a moulded trefoiled arch surmounted by a moulded pointed arch surrounding a niche cut into the wall which is said to have been used as a piscina. The top of the trefoiled arch shows two flying angels that may formerly have held censers or perhaps the soul of the deceased in the form of a little figure. The combination of monument and piscina can hardly have been the original design and the arrangement of window and recess in this south wall of the chapel is too irregular to be original either. The recess need not be of the same date as the window diagonally above it, and it remains difficult to ascertain an exact date. A late 13th century date seems to be most likely.<sup>151</sup> Although some kind of re-arrangement must have taken place, there can be no doubt that the arch together with the angels and the effigy belong together, forming a charming though smallish whole.

On the whole it seems that the greater part of the effigies discussed here were originally placed in recesses. Freestanding tomb chests are far more exceptional and were reserved for special tombs and special places. It is, however, not possible to be very exact because of the scarcity of original locations for 13th century

effigies. As for recesses, the north wall of the chancel may at first have been preferred,<sup>152</sup> but the choice of a particular place will mostly have been a matter of convenience. At Winchelsea and Curry Rivel the original places are in the north walls of what may have been separate chapels. The other original recess, at Long Wittenham, is found in the south transept, which may also have been used as a private chapel. Most recesses that still remain, both of the 13th and the 14th centuries, can be found at any place throughout the east half of the church building.

## 2.2 *The slab and other accessories*

The slabs on which the effigies are now lying are often no longer original. Thus all the effigies in Temple Church, London, received new slabs in the 19th century.<sup>153</sup> The visible parts of many other slabs have too much been tampered with to be any longer of value. When original, the effigy and slab are made up from the same block of stone. The thickness of the slab may vary slightly but no conclusions are to be drawn from this.

Practically all slabs are narrower at the bottom side than at the top side. This tapering form may at first have been a reminder of the coffin shape beneath,<sup>154</sup> but for the 13th century such a connection can no longer be established. The tapering shape is often very inconspicuous. A regular development from a strongly tapering form to a rectangular block is not discernible either. Two early effigies, at Thruxton (pl. 46) and Atherington, show a striking coffin shape, tapering from 68 to 41.5 and from 71 to 47 centimetres respectively. But the early effigy of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral lies on a slab that does not taper more than 10 centimetres, from 70 to 60. The much later effigy at Milbourne Port tapers only 5 centimetres, but the late 13th century effigy at Berwick St John on the other hand tapers strongly from 69 to 43 centimetres.

A very few slabs do not taper at all. The use of the rectangular slab may have been prompted by several factors, e.g. by the small size of the effigies such as at Gloucester (II). Yet small tapering slabs do occur as at Curry Rivel (rather strongly) or at Little Easton (not more than 2 centimetres). Further, the combination of tapering and niche-like form of canopy and shafts, as seen on many bishops' tombs, may gradually have been felt to be incongruous, while also the presence of a tomb chest or a whole tomb structure may have stimulated a more rectangular design. Thus the effigies at

West Leake (pl. 163) and Wistow (pl. 171) are depicted on rectangular slabs, while also those at Chichester, Westminster (of Crouchback and Aveline) and Pitchford are rectangular. But again exceptions can be found, as at Winterbourne Bassett (pl. 185) and Salisbury (I). On the whole rectangular slabs seem to point to a later date, but no firm conclusions can be drawn.

The upper and lower ends of the slabs are practically always parallel to each other, but in a few cases the upper end has an angular form, as at Eastwick, Faulkbourne, Llangerron and Pittington (pls 33, 47, 182, 108), or is rounded off with mouldings as at Abbey Dore (II; pl. 19).<sup>155</sup>

The edges of the slabs, when preserved intact, are mostly chamfered. The edge of the slab is simply bevelled, or, more often, it is hollow-chamfered. In a few cases, as at Atherington, Westminster (Crouchback effigy) and Worcester (II), a simple moulding has been used. At Monkton Farleigh (pl. 40) and Winterbourne Bassett a moulding has been employed to set off the effigy, sculpted in flat relief from the surrounding slab. Others, some twenty in all, have straight edges. Nine of them are made of marble, the hardness of which may have prompted the form of the edge. Sandstone slabs almost naturally form chamfered edges. Examples of straight edges are found throughout the century, as at Shepton Mallet (II) and Tenbury. No conclusions as to date can be drawn.

We are luckier when the chamfered edge has received some kind of decoration, usually in the form of leaves. Comparisons are then possible and the use of leaves as a decoration has been the subject of admirable studies.<sup>156</sup> We see a classical form of stiff leaf on the edge all around the effigy of William Longespée at Salisbury and this decoration is repeated at Atherington, where the larger spacing of the leaves and the use of two simple mouldings surrounding the leaves seem to be an advance on the Salisbury type (pls 3 + 6). The sprig of stiff leaf of the same form below the right foot at Salisbury (I) is also found at Shepton Mallet (II pls 10 + 11). On the knightly effigies at Gonalston and Worcester (I) we see a small knob of stiff leaf below the tip of the scabbard; for the latter effigy this has sometimes been described differently.<sup>157</sup>

At Worcester (II; pl. 157) the base supporting the slab with a lady effigy has a band of stiff-leaf decoration of a rather intricate design. There are really two bands of stiff leaf, one starting from the lower line of the edge and the other from the upper line. The

upper row takes the place of every middle stalk of the stiff leaves in the lower band. This more intricate form still retains much of the simple clear-cut design of the early stiff leaf and yet lacks the greater complexity seen elsewhere.<sup>158</sup> The same effigy also has a corbel of stiff leaf below the foot stool. In a more elaborate form such a corbel is present on the effigy of a bishop in the same cathedral.<sup>159</sup> A similar but simpler corbel in low relief is seen at Old Sodbury. The lady effigy at Worcester has yet another decoration, on the edge of the slab itself, in the form of little squares with a knob in the middle, but the authenticity of this seems doubtful.

Another band of stiff leaf is seen at Romsey (pl. 158), where the larger spacings of the leaves and their much more undulating lines point to a more advanced date. Moreover, the leaves are separated from each other by small shields. Such small shields are also seen at Upton Scudamore. Simpler forms of stiff leaf decoration, widely spaced and used on one side of the slab, are seen at Gedney (pl. 91), Mautby, Much Cowarne (pl. 85) and Wareham (I). The presence of this may well be a reason for dating these effigies to before the late 13th century. The roses on the edge of an effigy at Chaddesleigh Corbett are an embellishment that must have been put on at a later date (pl. 78).<sup>160</sup> They are original, however, on the slab of a Berkeley effigy in Bristol Cathedral of c1320. The flowing lines on the broad border of the early slab at Bures (pl. 174) may be compared with the ornamental bands on the early effigies at Salisbury (of Bishop Roger) and at Châlons-Sur-Marne and Münster. Though of a derivative form at Bures, it indicates a very early date.<sup>161</sup>

Sculptural decoration in the form of leaves also occurs on places other than the edge of the slab. I will deal with all the specimens here, even though this involves anticipating the description of head and foot supports. At Furness the two knightly effigies show one and two half balls of flower of a debased stiff-leaf kind below their feet (pl. 49) as does the ecclesiastical figure at the same place and of a similar date.<sup>162</sup> A conspicuous roll of stiff leaf is seen below the feet of an effigy at Newton Solney (pl. 44). The leafy roll here has a much more hardened form than the stiff-leaf decoration below the footstool of the bishop's effigy at Worcester. It should further be remarked that both at Furness and at Newton Solney we have effigies that in other aspects (to be discussed later) may be grouped with effigies that have as a common characteristic the absence of the normal animal foot support. An even more



debased form of stiff leaf, in this case just a few whorls, is seen below the right elbow of a knight at Rampton (pl. 22).

Stiff-leaf decoration is also found near the cushion serving as a head support as on a knightly effigy in London (Temple Church I; pl. 28). At either side of the cushion there is one bough from which three leaves sprout. The lower leaf is of the normal three-flower form with a high middle rib, the middle leaf curls almost into a circle and ends in a more or less circular flower, and the upper one is identical with the lower except for an extra twig curling towards the cushion. This decoration may well be compared with the leaf decoration on the slab of the earlier bishop's effigy in Worcester Cathedral of 1240,<sup>163</sup> where the decoration, however, is of a denser and more elaborate form due to the absence of a cushion. The cushion on the Temple Church slab restricts the stiff leaf in its outward growth. The sprig of branches and leaves to be seen at Alkerton and Great Haseley (I; pl. 45) may be vestiges of a similar decoration, but the very weathered state excludes a narrower description. The decoration near the cushion on the slab of the knightly effigy at Kirkstead is much better preserved. In this case we have definite proof of dating from the stiff-leaf decoration on the capitals of this chapel (pls 17 + 18). This decoration has been proved to be directly dependent on the decoration of the Chapter House of Lincoln Cathedral, of which Kirkstead was a satellite.<sup>164</sup> Thus a date of c1245-50 can be established for Kirkstead and the similarity in the forms of the stiff leaves of capitals and slab justifies a similar date for the effigy.<sup>165</sup>

The motif of naturalistic leaves was introduced in England in the 1250s in Westminster Abbey and its first still sparing use outside Westminster was on the tomb of Bishop Bridport in Salisbury Cathedral, while its influence was also very soon felt in Lincoln.<sup>166</sup> Both in Lincoln and in the West Country naturalism quickly froze into a kind of convention. Important for us is the difference between the naturalistic leaves on the lower arcade of the shrine of Bishop Cantilupe in Hereford Cathedral and the conventionalized form on the upper arcade, and, later on, as an offspring of the Lincoln stiff leaf, the outburst of vigorous naturalism at Southwell at the very end of the 13th century. The naturalistic leaves seen near the cushion of the knightly effigy at Rushton (pl. 21) may be compared with those on the lower arcade of the Cantilupe shrine. Although not the same they have been carved

in a similar flat relief and they have the same crisp, early form, and they do not yet show the undercut form and vigorous naturalism of the Southwell leaves. A similar date, the end of the third quarter of the century, is certainly acceptable. The more conventionalized motif of leaves on the upper part of the shrine, of c1285, is the starting point for increasing conventionality of leafy decoration. It leads to a form of leaves that is somewhere between naturalistic and stiff, and is met with in the late 13th century. It stands quite apart from the outburst of naturalism at York and Southwell. Thus the leaves between the two heads of the double effigy at Winterbourne Bassett (pl. 185), although having a general stiff leaf outline, are reminiscent of naturalism, which is even clearer in the leaves between the heads and the edges.

The leaf decoration on the gables of the early 14th century recesses at Winchelsea (pl. 68) is quite conventionalised. In comparison with this, the leaves in the spandrels of the gables on the tomb structures for Edmund Crouchback and his wife are of an earlier, more individual and more naturalistic form. The circular flower form in the spandrel of the gable on Lady Aveline's tomb canopy may further be compared with the leaves in the lower spandrels between the quatrefoils on the tomb chest at Chichester (pl. 137). The leaves at Chichester are even more individual and naturalistic than those in Westminster. They seem to be earlier and not to be dependent on those of the Crouchback tombs in Westminster, another proof of the precedence of the Chichester tomb.<sup>187</sup> The leaf bosses above the shields in the quatrefoils at Chichester are of the same earlier form as the comparable leaf bosses on the stone chest of Queen Eleanor's tomb.<sup>188</sup>

The decoration on the gables of the recesses at Curry Rivel (pl. 87) shows a flattened and debased form of stiff leaf. Interspersed between this stiff leaf decoration are little roundels and round flowers with the same flattened character. All this may well point to a date just before the late 13th century.

The crockets on the canopy over Queen Eleanor's effigy are of a more restricted and simpler form than those on the gables of the tomb structures of Crouchback and his wife Aveline. The latter have the Decorated bulbous character suggesting caterpillars crawling up the arches, while those on Queen Eleanor's tomb have preserved something of their naturalistic character. At Wistow (pl. 171) the crockets, so far as preserved, are of the earlier form.

The rosettes on the footstool are of a more indefinite character, but may be compared with the diaper work on flat surfaces common throughout the second half of the 13th century. The crockets on the gable over the head of a lady effigy at West Leake (pl. 163) are of a definite stiff leaf character, and must be dated before the Westminster tombs.

The gable stops round the lady effigy at Gonalston show clear stiff leaves at one side and clear naturalistic leaves on the other. The vigorous naturalistic leaves, freely undercut and almost hanging in the air, remind one of nearby Southwell (pls 152 + 154). This deliberate juxtaposition of classical stiff leaves and naturalistic leaves can also be found at Southwell on the arcade round the inner side of the Chapter House. A similar date for both the decoration in the Chapter House at Southwell and for the lady effigy at Gonalston should therefore be accepted.<sup>169</sup>

Canopies surrounding the heads of effigies appear to occur on three knightly effigies, on four effigies of civilians and on nine effigies of ladies.<sup>170</sup> In seven cases the canopies are resting on shafts. The shafts on the slabs of King Henry III and Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey (pls 160 + 173) are now gone, but must certainly have been there originally to judge from the holes in the slabs.<sup>171</sup> The shafts at Sopley (pl. 76), almost gone now, on the slabs of a lady and a civilian, appear in combination with the tapering form of the slab and give to the whole a lopsided effect, which is stressed even more by the canopies, inclining forward and consisting of building-like structures.<sup>172</sup> From the shafts on either side of the knight at Blyth (pl. 42) only the broken-off base and a small part of the right shaft survives. For the lady effigies at West Leake and Wistow (pls 163 + 171) the use of shafts results in rectangular compartments encasing the figures. West Leake has real columns with bases and capitals. At Wistow the shafts are pilasters divided into four tiers, the upper two consisting of two lancets surmounted by two interlocking trefoils under a gable and the whole topped by a pinnacle. The canopy itself consists of a gable form over a cinquefoil and a roundel. The decorative pattern of these pilasters is seen on the tomb structures of Edmund Crouchback and Aymer de Valence in Westminster Abbey but also, in a simpler form, on the effigial slab of Bishop Aquablanca in Hereford Cathedral. This shaft design

represents a later form than the column shafts at West Leake. The use of shafts and canopies should, of course, be compared with the more normal use of them on 13th century bishops' effigies, though these are of a much more elaborate form, and the examples of non-ecclesiastical effigies are too few in number to enable one to make more than individual comparisons. Thus the simple columns at West Leake remind one of the bishops' effigies at Ely and York, where, however, the columns are mostly richly ornamented with curling stiff leaves. The cinquefoil seen at West Leake and at Winterbourne Bassett is also seen on an episcopal effigy at Ely.<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, the canopies at Sopley may be compared with those on two bishops' effigies at Rochester showing the same building-like structures above the canopies.<sup>174</sup>

The more three-dimensional canopies at Sandwich, Westminster Abbey (Queen Eleanor's effigy) and Romsey (pls 43, 158, 160) all have the upper foil in a parallel plane with the rest of the slab, whereas the one at Gonalston has a more dropping form, which would point to a definitely later date. The other type may be compared with the canopy seen on Bishop de la Wyle's effigy at Salisbury.<sup>175</sup>

The simple canopies seen on the effigies at Foy are really the result of the very low, almost sunk relief. The canopies at Kemble and Paulton (pl. 178), resting on head stops, but without shafts, are a little more pronounced. Head stops are also seen at Romsey and Sopley; while on Queen Eleanor's tomb there are heads at the break of the foils. Little shafts rectangularly above the head stops, pinnacle-like, are found at Kemble, Gonalston, West Leake (double columns), and Paulton and were formerly present on Queen Eleanor's effigial slab.<sup>176</sup> Angels with censers outside the canopies,<sup>177</sup> as so often seen on bishops' effigies, are met with at Sandwich and Romsey, while at Wistow we see two heads in the quatrefoils sunk into the spandrels between pinnacles and gable.

The absence of canopies for knightly effigies is remarkable but, as we have seen, this is not general. Further, it has to be said that the use of canopies is not confined to the 13th century; they appear to occur quite regularly in the northern districts in the first half of the 14th century. Thus the many semi-effigial monuments, typical of the Lincolnshire districts, where only the head and shoulder and the feet are depicted, almost naturally show a kind of cut-out canopy above the head of the effigies.<sup>178</sup> But many

real three-dimensional canopies for knights and ladies as well as for civilians can be mentioned for both Lincolnshire and the more northern districts. The canopies have then become more elaborate, the arches have become rounder and the dropping form more pronounced. Examples of knightly effigies are found at Burton Coggles (Lincs.; the second knightly effigy here), Bedale, Fountains Abbey and Howden (Yorks.), and for ladies and civilians at Rothley (Leics.), Rippingale (Lincs.), Staindrop (Durham), Howden (Yorks.) and Edenham (Lincs.).

As for inscriptions, only seven of the effigies dealt with in this study will appear to have some letters on the edge of the slab on which the figure is lying. The French inscriptions on the tombs of King Henry III and Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey are well known.<sup>179</sup> There is part of an inscription on the slab of the effigy to Edmund Crouchback.<sup>180</sup> Further we have names on the two small effigies at Newton by Toft, "Eleine" and "William",<sup>181</sup> and at Bures, "Albericus de Ver",<sup>182</sup> whereas at Wistow we have a somewhat longer inscription referring to "Dame Margery".<sup>183</sup> They are all written in Lombardic letter and the language used is the Norman French common for the period.<sup>184</sup>

A larger number of original inscriptions could formerly be discerned on the effigial tombs.<sup>185</sup> Thus we have proof that some time ago inscriptions could be read on the knightly effigies at Compton Martin, Bishop's Cleeve, Eastwick, Faulkbourne, Long Ashton, Tilton and Toppesfield,<sup>186</sup> and further research may reveal more. It remains doubtful, however, whether such inscriptions are always helpful in dating the effigies themselves. With the exception of the effigies of King Henry III and Queen Eleanor, the names themselves are not of much use. The inscription at Tilton is of rather doubtful authenticity, while at Bures the name refers to a person who died in 1141, a date hardly tenable for the origin of the effigy itself.<sup>187</sup> Plaques attached in one way or another to an effigial monument, as reported for Bottesford<sup>188</sup> and for some knightly effigies in Temple Church, London<sup>189</sup> will probably have been added at a much later date. The custom of attaching plaques is unattested anywhere in the 13th century.

### 2.3 *Foot support*

Below the feet of most effigies an animal is found as a foot rest. Yet in one out of three cases the animal has been damaged so much

that it is no longer possible to see what kind it was. Sometimes only a few vestiges remain; in a few cases the lower part of the effigies has been broken off completely leaving us in the dark as to whether there was once an animal or not.

But something can be said about the animals which have survived in a recognisable state. The lion is the most common animal. With knightly effigies it is three times as common as other animals. The dog is not infrequent and I have counted about 15 instances. For lady effigies the dog occurs twice as often as the lion, while for effigies of civilians the dog and the lion are about equal. This distribution at least proves that the dog is not solely the lady's escort as against the lion for a knight.<sup>190</sup> Nor is the lion for lady effigies only used in more official monuments. This may be the case for Queen Eleanor's effigy in Westminster Abbey, which has two lions.<sup>191</sup> Yet Lady Aveline's effigy in the same church has two dogs, and simpler more provincial works, as at Denham and Seagry, again show the lion. As with the effigy of Queen Eleanor, that of King Henry III used to have two lions,<sup>192</sup> while two dogs instead of one occur on the lady effigies at Chichester and Horton. Dogs do not seem to occur on earlier effigies: I could not find one example definitely dating before the beginning of the last quarter of the century.<sup>193</sup> The dog seen on the earlier effigy at Great Malvern is a modern restoration.<sup>194</sup>

When looking for a meaning behind these animals I think that for dogs it must be sought not so exclusively in the idea of faithfulness but in 'a link with everyday existence'. These effigies 'go beyond the bonds of solemnity and genre'.<sup>195</sup> As for the lion, several underlying motifs have been adduced: man mastering the animal expressing triumph over evil, lions seen as guards, the lion as the all devouring power of death, and the lion as the symbol of Resurrection, derived from the legend in which a lion roars his still-born cubs to life again. The first of these meanings may have been intended when the knight is really seen pushing his sword into the mouth of the lion as in London (Temple Church II) and Paulton; the power of death and evil may have been hinted at on the Tilton knight, where a man's head is seen in the mouth of a lion (pl. 101). At Nettlecombe the lion seems to be holding another animal between its forepaws. In the meaning of triumph over evil the use of the lion will have had its source in one of the four beasts mentioned in Psalm 90, the others being the asp, the basilisk and the

dragon.<sup>196</sup> But of the other three animals I have only been able to identify two dragons, at Kirton in Lindsey and London (Temple Church V). On several ecclesiastical effigies, as at Peterborough and York,<sup>197</sup> a more convincing representation of one of these four beasts seems to have been aimed at, which for non-ecclesiastical effigies was perhaps thought unnecessary. Moreover, in the Bestiaries themselves the four beasts mentioned were not always clearly differentiated,<sup>198</sup> and one may well ask whether these beasts, with the exception of the lion, were quite distinct in the minds of the people. At Wareham (I) the fight between a lion and a griffin has been depicted.<sup>199</sup> Quite different animals also occur. Thus the foot support at Kemble may be a wolf,<sup>200</sup> while on one effigy in London (Temple Church I; pl. 28) it is definitely a leopard.<sup>201</sup> A boar seems to occur at Newton by Toft (II).<sup>202</sup> It is not clear whether we here have instances of armorial beasts or of beasts making a pun on the name of the person commemorated, which more often occurs on later effigies. On the whole we may well ask whether in the 13th century, especially for non-ecclesiastical effigies, there was any real meaning behind the use of these animals, or whether it was no more than a formal motif.<sup>203</sup>

The animals are mostly given as lying quietly on the slab and resting against the feet of the effigy, thus as "couchant", less often as "statant" which occurs at Bristol (Mayor's Chapel I). The instances where the animal is really trampled down and consequently twisting in defence or biting the end of the sword or scabbard are rather exceptional, and in this case no difference is made between the wilder beasts and the dogs. Thus the dog at Bristol (St. Mary Redcliffe) is biting the tip of the scabbard. The way the tail has been represented, curling more or less round the body of the animal and on to the slab again seems to be a matter of decoration only.

In a few cases the animal is given as "statant" in such a way that the animal, and also its legs, are seen in a parallel plane to the slab. Whatever their meaning as symbols, when the use of animals below the feet of figures is directly derived from statues,<sup>204</sup> this particular pose must be a remnant of an earlier custom for funeral effigies. It concurs with the conception of seeing effigial figures as vertical statues laid in a horizontal position. Besides at Bristol it occurs at Gonalston, Mavesyn Ridware, Tickenham (II) and Welsh Bicknor (pls 26, 106, 142). However, these effigies

should not be dated to the 13th century only on this account. This anomaly may occur whenever a stonemason turns from statue carving to effigies.

Further mention should be made here of a few effigies that show some extra animal on the slab beside the legs of the effigy or curling round the lower tip of shield or scabbard. Thus we see a small snake biting the scabbard at Danbury (I), and at Pershore a snake-like animal is biting the tip of the shield (pls 52 + 55). This love of detail seems to have been very popular in the north, where for the 13th century the effigies at Coverham, Pitlington and Whitworth show an extra animal resting on the slab near the legs (pls 105, 108, 109).

When there is no animal below the feet of the effigy, the feet may rest on leaves, or on a kind of footstool, or there may indeed be nothing at all below the feet. The leaves, which I have already discussed (2.2), sometimes seem to be an afterthought and may consist of a small ball of flowers or a small tuft of leaves attached to the heel, as at Furness, Newton Solney, Shepton Mallet (II) and Salisbury (I), in which case the general impression is one of absence of foot support.

The absence of the foot support is sometimes remarkable. The knightly effigies at Eastwick, London (Temple Church IV, VI and VIII), Stowe-Nine-Churches, Twyford and Walkern, and also at Furness and Newton Solney share this peculiarity with other characteristics such as the material they are made of, which is Purbeck marble, and a special attitude of the figure, which will be discussed in a following chapter. The effigies in Temple Church (IV), Bures, Faulkbourne, Hatfield and Thruxton share the absence of the foot support with the frontal and primitive representation of the figure. The earliest secular effigy in the West Country, at Salisbury (I), also lacks the foot support, and the same may have been the case at Shepton Mallet (I), Seaborough, and the low-relief effigies at Monkton Farleigh. The absence of the foot support certainly points to an early date, and for a few of these effigies characterizes a group. With other effigies the absence of the foot support is too unnatural to be original, as at Goxhill (pl. 90), where incidentally the whole figure has clearly been retouched.<sup>205</sup> Some foot support will probably also have been present at Wilton, and almost certainly at Gloucester.<sup>206</sup>

Further mention should be made of the footstool itself, an



architectural ridge for the feet to rest on. This sometimes occurs in combination with an animal foot support, as at Blyth and Tilton (II) where we see two dogs,<sup>207</sup> and one dog statant below the footstool respectively (pls 42 + 169). At Gonalston and Mavesyn Ridware the footstool is found below the legs of the animal foot support (pls 26 + 106). Footstools occur on several lady effigies, as at Droxford, West Leake, Wistow and Worcester, and on the effigy of a civilian at Llangerron. With the effigies at West Leake and Wistow the use of the foot stool is in agreement with the structure-like idea of the whole. For the other effigies the voluminous end-folds of the mantle that almost completely cover the feet may have been the reason for the absence of any representation of an animal. The footstool at Llangerron (pl. 182) is the one that has most clearly been borrowed from statue sculpturing.

At Foy the two relief-like effigies seem to rest their feet on circular masks, while at Whitworth we see the exceptional figure of a man crawling below the feet of the effigy. One effigy in London (Temple Church VII) rests its feet on two grotesque heads, which are, however, too small to be regarded as a regular foot support.<sup>208</sup> The footrest consisting of two monks reading books placed on a two-sided desk seen at Hatfield Broak Oak <sup>209</sup> (pl. 100) cannot be compared with anything seen on 13th century effigies, the effigy probably dating from a somewhat later period.

It will by now have become apparent that in spite of the fact that some groups of effigies have special kinds of foot supports, there is too little system in the presence or absence of such supports to be of much use in helping us to date effigies.

## 2.4. *Head support*

### 2.4.1 *Introduction*

Head supports in the form of cushions for recumbent effigies have of late been studied by Stone and Andersson <sup>210</sup> in order to arrive at exacter dates for effigies normally dated late 13th or early 14th century. According to Stone the double cushion with the upper one placed diagonally on the lower and upheld by two kneeling angels was first used on the Westminster tombs of Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline, to be dated 1295-1300. All the other effigies showing this feature are taken to have been made under Westminster influence and are consequently of a later date. The feature is

supposed to have been taken over from the French custom of a few years earlier. Andersson takes the tomb of Queen Eleanor, made by Torel in 1291-3, to be the first instance of the use of the double cushion with the upper one set diagonally on the lower but without the angels, a view which has been taken over by Stone. If these head supports are valid as a criterion, the consequences for dating effigies are far-reaching, yet neither author seems to have taken into consideration all known effigies. My findings agree with Stone's view, not so easily with Anderssons's. To explain why this is so I need a wider approach which takes into account the whole development of the cushion as a head support. It will then appear that this development is not at all simple, although at times very revealing for purposes of dating.

Head supports other than the cushion are not to be found on 13th century effigies. The great helmet under the head of an effigy is not met with before the 1320s, with instances at Minster in Sheppey, Chilthorne Domer and Pendomer.<sup>211</sup> Only on one or two secular effigies of the 13th century can something additional to the cushion be seen. At Great Hasely (pl. 45) the older knightly effigy shows beneath the head a cushion that in turn seems to be placed on a shield. The shield is not clearly marked and also partly gives the impression of being an elevation of the slab. At Coverham the cushion is covered by a cloth gracefully extending to the slab (pl. 105).

All kinds of extras near the head and the cushion cannot be taken as 13th century elements. Thus at Furness the third knightly effigy has war gloves and other pieces of armour, all very accurately rendered, near the cushion, while at Brancepeth the cushion is carried by six small lions.<sup>212</sup> At Staindrop there are two small armorial shields set against the sides of the cushion of a small civilian effigy, and at Kingerby two puppies are asleep near the cushion of a knightly effigy.<sup>213</sup> Such realistic extras point rather to the next century.

#### *2.4.2 From the absence of a cushion to the use of the single and the double cushion*

Both on the Continent and in England the earliest effigies show no cushion as a head support. The first example of an effigy with a cushion in Germany seems to be of 1203 on an effigial slab at Quedlingburg.<sup>214</sup> France does not seem to have been much earlier

in using cushions, although an exceptionally early instance, on a mosaic slab, is mentioned by Panofsky.<sup>215</sup> The early bishops' effigies in England, of the late 12th and early 13th centuries, have no cushions. Examples of corresponding secular effigies in England are found at Hatfield (pl. 48), London (Temple Church IV) and Worcester (King John; pl. 172). There are also the effigies at Alkerton and Furness (I), although in these cases the ruined state of the upper part of the effigies makes a definite conclusion difficult. At Abbey Dore (II) and Mavesyn Ridware the absence of a cushion, as it appears now, may well be due to restoration. At Blyth, Foy and Winterbourne Bassett we have examples of the absence of a cushion in combination with the presence of a canopy surrounding the head. On the whole, the absence of a cushion remains very exceptional. Unless there are strong counter arguments it is in most cases an indication of an early date.

The original use of a cushion certainly had something to do with the discrepancy felt when a figure conceived as standing upright was actually lying in a horizontal position.<sup>216</sup> One of the earliest uses of a single cushion in England may be on the lady effigy at Worcester (II; pl. 157). This effigy has no canopy over the head. It seems logical that in such cases the absence of the cushion should be felt most strongly, more so than when the head of an effigy is embedded in the stone beneath an arch or is found beneath a canopy. It is not true, however, that effigies lying with their head beneath a canopy never have a cushion. From the middle of the century onwards we find effigies, mostly of bishops, showing the canopy and the cushion. Yet this seems gradually to have been felt to be an anomaly. There certainly seems to be a correlation between the decreasing use of canopy and niche and the use of one or two cushions; there was a generally felt urge to lift the head. With canopies, too, we see the gradual elevation of the head, even to such an extent that the head, and sometimes also the cushion, are raised above the arch of the canopy. Bishop Aquablanca's effigy in Hereford Cathedral is a case in point.<sup>217</sup> One may say that the cushion has superseded the arch of the canopy beneath it. The canopy is only a far reminder of the idea of an effigy conceived as an upright statue in a niche.

The use of a single cushion is by far the most popular device for the secular effigies I have studied. I have counted more than a hundred examples, which is twice as many as the number of effigies

with the double cushion. In itself this use of the single cushion does not give any clue as to date, as the definitely early example at Salisbury (I) and a definitely late example, the effigy of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey, may indicate (pls 3 + 122).

Details regarding the single cushion may sometimes be revealing. Most single cushions have a square or somewhat oblong shape, are not too thick, and are placed squarely upon the slab. Sometimes it seems to be a mere elevation of the slab instead of a real cushion (Winchelsea III). In other cases the cushion lies on a slight elevation that is clearly a part of the slab, a fair way in the direction of the use of the double cushion. Examples of this single cushion on an elevation of the slab are found at Salisbury (I) and Pershore (pl. 52). In a dozen cases the cushion is put diagonally on the slab. This occurs not only on earlier effigies, as at Abbey Dore (I), but throughout the century, as at Stowe-Nine-Churches (third quarter) and East Tuddenham (late 13th century), while early 14th century examples can also be cited. The eight-sided cushion in London (Temple Church I) is exceptional, and the five-sided one at Llangerron is due to a primitive manner of carving which follows the form of the slab. A few others are also more or less irregular and some have the form of a bolster, as at Gloucester (I) and London (Southwark Cathedral). This form seems to be a clearly late characteristic, which in the two cases mentioned may even be due to restoration, other parts of the effigies having been restored as well.<sup>218</sup> The representation of a cushion that suggests a soft material with cushion-filling and that gives way to the pressure of the head naturally occurs with the better effigies, but often may be an indication of a later date. Thus the single cushion at Westminster Abbey (II) mentioned above, of the end of the century, gives the impression of the softer material upon which the head is pressing. A later date also seems more feasible for cushions that have tassels at the corners. Both these aspects, of soft cushions and tassel decoration, moreover, occur far more frequently when the double cushion has been used.

When the double cushion is used the upper one is normally placed diagonally on the lower one, which is placed squarely on the slab. In a perfected form it occurs on the effigies of Queen Eleanor and King Henry III in Westminster Abbey, both securely dated 1291-3<sup>219</sup> (pls 160 + 173). These tombs made by William Torel show this feature just before it was used in combination with the

attendant angels. The effigies have always been seen as French-inspired works of art and the double cushion, too, is certainly a custom borrowed from France.<sup>220</sup> Yet it remains to be seen whether all effigies with this form of the double cushion in England should be dated after these two. I do not think that there has been a sudden change from the use of one cushion to this special form of the double cushion: several possibilities were already being tried out. As seen above, there are effigies with a single cushion lying on an elevation of the slab, nor is a diagonal placing of the single cushion exceptional. Further there are examples of two cushions being placed squarely on each other, of which the knightly effigies at Worcester (I), Berwick St John and Pertenhall, are early cases (pls 14, 62, 113).

In at least three cases, at Bitton,<sup>221</sup> Cogenhoe (pl. 24) and Tilton (II; pl. 169), we find two cushions of which it is the lower one that is placed diagonally on the slab and the upper one squarely.<sup>222</sup> The one at Bitton has its lower cushion merely incised, but that does not alter the fact that the double cushion is shown, and, very important, it is a very early instance. The other two may also be dated before the end of the century. This particular feature with a rectangular cushion placed on a diagonal one should be taken not so much as an intentional variety of the more normal opposite form, but rather as a more individual solution devised at the same time or even before.

To return to the particular placing of the two cushions as in Westminster Abbey, there are a few effigies which may make a claim to having had such a double cushion before 1293. The most prominent effigy is that of Bishop Bronescombe in Exeter Cathedral. Although it is not easy to fix an exact date for this effigy, there is no reason to assume a date that lies long after his death in 1280.<sup>223</sup> In accordance with his wish he was buried in the chapel south of the Lady Chapel which he had founded and which was almost completed at his death. The form of the two cushions is slightly different from those used in Westminster Abbey, the lower one being very thick, almost bolster-like, whereas the upper one is very small and thin. In Westminster Abbey both cushions are almost identical in size. The Bronescombe cushions do not seem to be a direct borrowing from the Westminster ones.

The effigies at Bristol (Mayor's Chapel I) and Curry Rivel (pl. 86) showing this particular form of the double cushion also seem to be

of an earlier date, though for other reasons. At Bristol it is the attitude of the arms and hands (as will be discussed in a following chapter), while at Curry Rivel the whole complex of niches and effigies as described before would point to a somewhat earlier date. It is remarkable that from the group of four effigies at Curry Rivel it is the knightly effigy that has this particular double cushion, the only one of life-size and so the most important effigy of the group, the others being of much smaller size.

Other effigies in far-off places like Botus Fleming, Castle Ashby, Kingsdon, Pickhill and Sefton (pls 59, 64, 93), to mention only a few of the 50 or so examples I have counted, all of them showing the common 13th century characteristics, can hardly be taken as having 'borrowed' this double-cushion form directly after 1293. There are often slight differences in form, but even when they are strikingly similar one may ask why only this particular feature should have been borrowed to the exclusion of several other features. The knightly effigies in this group remain sword-handling, while the London workshops of the time favoured the quiet type of praying knight. Direct Westminster influence for this special feature alone seems rather unlikely. I think it safer to say that during the late eighties and early nineties the feature of the double cushion was used at more than one place and in more than one way. In the London workshops the idea was almost certainly a deliberate imitation of a French custom, but a native development, especially in places outside London, or a French influence not coming via London, cannot a priori be ruled out. Effigies having this feature of the double cushion, but in other respects not showing any influence from the London style as seen on the royal tombs in Westminster Abbey, should not, merely because of this one feature, be dated c1300 or even later. A 'late 13th century' date may still be quite possible.

#### 2.4.3 *The double cushion with the attendant angels*

The double cushion with the attendant angels as seen on the tombs of Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline in Westminster Abbey is said to be a French idea consciously borrowed in England (pls 123 + 136). And indeed the combination of this idea with that of the 'weepers' on the sides of the tomb chest is the new concept of tomb sculpture seen in France a few years earlier.<sup>224</sup> There are also instances of the two cushions attended by angels

without the 'weepers'. Minute details in the representation of the angels point to French sources. The angels are sitting on their buttocks, leaning slightly backwards and looking up, with bent knees and one leg crossing the other and the sole of one foot showing towards the spectator. With their hands they hold the cushions, or one hand supports the head of the effigy and the other the cushion. They are not really kneeling although they are sometimes so described, but this was exactly the French manner of the second half of the 13th century, especially the showing of one bare sole.<sup>225</sup>

In England, apart from the two effigies in Westminster Abbey, only one other effigy with this charming detail can with certainty be assigned to before the end of the century: the lady effigy at Chichester (pl. 135). This effigy is very close indeed to the Aveline effigy in Westminster Abbey and the attendant angels are practically identical. The connection with court circles must have been close.

Biver, followed by Pradel, has made up lists of French-inspired tombs in England starting with the two tombs in Westminster Abbey mentioned above.<sup>226</sup> The series runs up to the middle of the 14th century. The descriptions they give are mainly based on the overall tomb structure, but their remarks on the effigies are not very accurate. The double cushion with the attendant angels has not been given much attention, although this new idea in effigies had an immediate and very extensive influence. The lady effigy at Chichester is not mentioned by these authors, nor is a lady effigy at Aldworth showing identical attendant angels, though other details of attitude would point to a somewhat later date. At Wells we have the effigy of Bishop de la Marche with the similar scene of attendant angels near a double cushion, clearly of the early 14th century.<sup>227</sup> Direct Westminster influence in all three is unmistakable. Then there are the two effigies commemorating members of the Berkeley family in Bristol Cathedral. One of them is an almost exact copy of the Crouchback figure, whereas the other shows a clear divergence from the London style since the attendant angels have made a half turn.<sup>228</sup> Many other examples can be cited: at Chichester (a bishop), Hacombe (a lady), Hanbury (probably the first knight made of alabaster), Burghfield (a wooden knight), Ifield (a lady), Leckhampton (a lady), Lustleigh (a knight), Winchelsea (the first 'Alard' knight), Wear Gifford (a knight)<sup>229</sup> and several others. By then we have reached the second quarter

of the 14th century, when this particular feature had become a most common device.

The double cushion with attendant angels as described here may indeed be seen as a certain indication of a date after c1300. Thus some effigies in Wiltshire as at Edington and Figcheldean,<sup>230</sup> although sometimes dated 'late 13th century', must really be of a later date. This is even more true of several effigies in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire at Belleau, Buslingthorpe, Somerby, Sprotborough and Winteringham.<sup>231</sup> The attendant angels (note the bare soles at Buslingthorpe and Winteringham) are here corroborated by the armour of the knightly effigies. The earliest effigy at Staindrop is of an early 14th century date, as are the effigies at Erwarton and Fersfield.<sup>232</sup> The very dilapidated effigy of a lady and a knight at Little Horkesley may have had attendant angels, as some traces seem to point out. What is left of the angels on the lady effigy suggests a somewhat different attitude and on the knightly effigy only the imprint of a hand on the head remains (pl. 124). Direct influence from London on wooden effigies in the neighbourhood is conceivable, but even then one should hesitate about a late 13th century date for two of the three effigies.<sup>233</sup> As far as I can see there were no attendant angels on the effigy of a lady at Darlington (pl. 159).<sup>234</sup>

All this does not mean that angels, or other figures, near the head had been completely unknown before the end of the century. On most bishops' effigies of the 13th century we see thurifying angels outside the canopy surrounding the head of the effigy. Although these angels are kneeling and swinging censers, they can be considered as predecessors of the later ones that are holding the cushions and/or the head. The general meaning behind them seems the same: an illustration of the antiphon sung when the body was carried out of the church.<sup>235</sup> With the change from thurifying angels outside the canopy towards attending angels holding the cushions and/or the head of the effigy there has also come about a general shift towards a more mundane, less liturgical outlook, in so far as the angels have left behind the censers and give the impression of putting the person commemorated to an easy rest. As far as secular effigies are concerned, these older, censuring, angels outside the canopy occur at Romsey and Sandwich and perhaps at Coverham (pls 43, 105, 158).<sup>236</sup>



But even when no canopies have been used, angels or other figures do occur near the head in a way that is different from the attitude of the attendant angels as described above. Thus the effigy of King John at Worcester is accompanied by two bishops, his patron saints (pl. 172).<sup>237</sup> The two figures are lying flat on their backs in a parallel position to the slab. This is, of course, the older custom which was gradually and logically superseded by the vertical position of such figures wherever possible. Such a vertical position almost automatically presents itself on effigies with canopies surrounding the head. Here the angel figures remain in relief against the sides of the canopy, while at the same time they attain their more realistic vertical position.<sup>238</sup>

The horizontal position of attendant angels, more or less parallel to the slab, occurs on four effigial slabs without canopies, all four of them representing lady figures: at Denham, Rand, Welsh Bicknor and Wolferlow (pls 143, 145, 146, 147). The angels here are lying on their sides but remain in contact with the slab from head to feet. Moreover, those at Denham and Rand are still swinging censers instead of holding the cushion, while at Rand, Welsh Bicknor and Wolferlow only one rectangular cushion is used. The angels at Rand may have been inspired by some of the angels in the Angel Choir in Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>239</sup> All this would point to a date before the end of the century, which is, moreover, supported by the older drapery style of the garments worn by the effigies (to be discussed in the next chapter).

At Seaborough there seems to have been one attendant angel holding the helmeted head of an early knightly effigy (pl. 8).<sup>240</sup> But as only the imprint of one hand is preserved and no other similar examples are known, it is difficult to imagine where and how this angel was sculptured. Yet together with the four lady effigies mentioned above, it at least proves that, even when there are no canopies, attendant angels were well known in England before the conscious borrowing at Westminster of the French custom which, though certainly new and of great influence, will not have been felt as an entirely original and unknown idea.

### 3. COSTUME

#### 3.1 *Introduction*

In books on effigies there has always been great attention to costume. County historians cataloguing effigies have given detailed and accurate descriptions of costumes. All visible or half visible particulars are mentioned and all the details of armour on knightly effigies enumerated. Such descriptions have proved to be very useful for the study of costume.

In studies on effigies, however, a wrong course was taken when details of dress began to play such an important part that at one time all early anonymous effigies were being dated according to details of dress. The history of dress was apparently considered to be a definite and settled affair. Stone was the first to attack such a method of dating.<sup>241</sup> The importance of details of dress for arriving at greater precision of dating is far less than is often supposed. This will become clear in the course of this chapter, in which I will give a short description of the dress worn and discuss some of the problems that emerge when details of dress are used as indications of date.

Though in general it may be assumed that the garments depicted are those worn at the time the effigies were made, it should not be forgotten that it was in the 13th century that the first secular effigies appeared and at that time the tradition of depicting contemporary dress in sculpture had only just begun and was to develop very gradually. Consequently the changes in dress on the various 13th century effigies are also very gradual. Fashion may have been slower in changing in an age when a more worldly outlook and attention for worldly things was only beginning to emerge. Moreover, funerary art is generally more conventional than other art forms. The changes in costume on 13th century effigies had therefore better be discussed in terms of stylistic growth. Details of dress are not more important than variations in drapery style. The changes in details of dress over a considerable period of time are only very gradual. Attention to all kinds of smaller details of dress shown by so many later effigies is something that does not belong to the 13th century. One reason for the introduction of the so-called brasses and alabaster effigies in the

14th century, and their rapid rise to popularity, was that these materials were much better suited to depict details.<sup>242</sup> In general it can be said that after the 13th century changes in fashion followed each other more quickly and that this had its effect on effigies. It is then that fashionable characteristics in costume are very helpful in dating effigies.

Although there may be great accuracy in the depiction of details, especially on the better executed effigies, yet the accuracy is usually less than is often supposed. Compared with miniatures, for example, the details are in general far less exact.<sup>243</sup> Moreover, as this study is only concerned with one of the fields of art in which garments are depicted, this is not the place to give a complete survey of 13th century costume. Only those details of dress and attributes will be discussed that are visible on effigies.

With 13th century effigies we should therefore be careful in using elements of dress and armour as an indication of date or period. If a particular detail is once used in sculptured effigies, this does not mean that all similar details are of about the same date, as the detail in question may recur on effigies that were made several years later. Further it is often futile to look for the first occurrence of a detail of dress or armour on effigies, as the detail may well have been depicted earlier in miniatures. Only rarely can a reliable conclusion be drawn from one single detail of dress or armour. In the field of costume on 13th century effigies it can only be the accumulation of detail that counts. And, of course, details of dress can strengthen evidence arrived at on other grounds.

### 3.2 *The costume on lady effigies*

The dress depicted on lady effigies usually consists of three separate garments, the 'kirtle', the 'gown' and the 'mantle'.<sup>244</sup> The kirtle is the basic body dress. It has long sleeves which are tight-fitting and reach to the wrists. On top of this we find the gown, mostly sleeveless but sometimes with somewhat wider sleeves than the 'kirtle' and reaching to elbow or forearm. On effigies the kirtle can easily be determined by the tight-fitting sleeves that show from the shoulders if the gown is sleeveless. If the gown has sleeves it may be determined either by the tight-fitting lower part, near the wrists, or through the 'fitchets', i.e. slits at the sides for the hands to slip through. In a few cases,

at Gayton, Winterbourne Bassett and Wistow (pls 162, 171, 185) the part of the kirtle near the wrists is buttoned up, a detail more often seen on later effigies. The kirtle at Winterbourne Bassett can also be seen through the 'fitchets'. The gown with sleeves and yet showing the kirtle near the wrists is seen at Droxford, Westminster Abbey (Lady Aveline and Queen Eleanor) and Rand (pls 73, 134, 143, 160). If it is not possible to decide on kirtle or gown, it will probably be the gown with long sleeves reaching to the wrists that can be seen. The loss of paint and poor state of surface preservation may also be reasons why the two can no longer be distinguished. It is important to note that the gown is always very long, covering the feet almost completely. This is notably different from civilian effigies, on which the corresponding dress is always shorter. At Darlington a brooch is depicted with which the gown is fastened at the neck. It is remarkable that the girdle round the middle of the gown is far less frequent than one might expect. The girdle can be seen at Darlington, Lyonshall, Romsey and Tilton (pls 161, 164, 158, 169).

The mantle is worn over the gown, fastened round the neck by a simple cord and/or a clasp. The effigy at Gloucester apparently has a mantle falling from the shoulders, but there is no indication how this mantle has been fastened, nor is it held up between arm and body. The tucking up of the mantle between forearm and body is often a characteristic aspect of the female figure (pl. 168).

In only 14 cases out of 45 are the three separate garments still clearly visible: the effigy in Westminster Abbey is a very clear example and that at Worcester Cathedral (pl. 157) is an early example. Effigies on which no mantle is worn are found at Denham, Newton by Toft, Tideswell, Wickhampton and Winterbourne Bassett (pl. 141, 155, 167, 185). Absence of the mantle may indicate lower rank.

The falling of the gown over the feet, and also the falling of the mantle from the point where it is tucked under the right arm, result in drapery folds that to a great extent define the overall look of the effigy. The folds may vary from a few hard parallel flutings to an intricate pattern of ridges, hollows and flats. Mere drapery fold flutings as found at Tideswell are an indication of poor artistic style. The straightforward, parallel tubes as found at Bobbington, Gloucester and Rand, the long flat planes separated by sharp ridges at Wickhampton, and the sparse bulgings at

Denham are of no particular significance. Painting must have made up for the minimum of carving on these effigies.

In a few cases the drapery style can, by comparison, give an indication of date. On the Purbeck marble effigy at Worcester the finely pleated, well-ordered folds may be compared with the drapery style on King John's effigy in the same Cathedral and the drapery style on a few related bishops' effigies, as described by Andersson.<sup>245</sup> The lady effigy at Worcester can thus be dated before the middle of the century. The drapery style of the Purbeck marble lady at Romsey has been described by the same author as of a later date because of the presence of long, flat angular planes in the falling folds of the mantle. Stylistically there is some remote influence from Wells.<sup>246</sup>

Lady effigies directly influenced by the Wells sculpture do not seem to exist. The very many parallel folds depicted on the drapery of the effigy at Welsh Bicknor may resemble this style, but are certainly of a much later date (pl. 142). Yet the predominance of the drapery style on this effigy to the exclusion of any attention to the body underneath may well point towards a date before the end of the century.<sup>247</sup> The drapery should be compared with the drapery on the effigy at Wolferlow<sup>248</sup> (pl. 144). The two effigies cannot be far removed from each other, but at Wolferlow the legs and especially the right knee are clearly indicated underneath the folds. The zig-zag hemline of the mantle falling downwards from the hands would also point to a somewhat later date. The headless effigy at Lyonshall has well-ordered V-folds at the right side, but is so badly preserved that some authors have thought they recognized the figure of a man in it.<sup>249</sup>

The three Purbeck marble effigies at Ash, Droxford and Winchelsea should be groped together (pls 75, 73, 71). The few V-folds at the right side on the effigies at Droxford and Winchelsea (II) are exactly the same, and those on the Ash figure also, to judge from what is left. Gone is the high technical quality of the earlier Purbeck marble style. Instead we see a gross drapery style strongly determined by the hardness of the material and with folds that are indicated by a few broad ridges and hollows. The Purbeck marble effigy of a lady at Sopley should also be mentioned here. Though the general conception is different from the three effigies just mentioned, the meticulously executed lines of the drapery shown on the right shoulder have a highly monotonous effect, already

pointing to the loss of easy technique in carving Purbeck marble.

The new drapery style of the end of the century is shown on the effigies at Chichester and Westminster Abbey (Lady Aveline) (pls 134 + 135). The drapery is made up of many varied folds and a few sweeping lines indicating the thick material of the garments. The slight S-curve on the figure of Lady Aveline is, except for the upper bend indicated by the tilt of the head, mainly evoked by the folds of the drapery. This S-curve is more pronounced on a similar but later effigy of a lady at Aldsworth,<sup>250</sup> and a statue on the north side of Lichfield Cathedral, dated c1310,<sup>251</sup> also shows it. The lady effigy at Chichester, much resembling the Aveline figure in general conception, does not yet show this S-curve, the attitude being rather frontal. This effigy should therefore be dated before the Aveline figure.<sup>252</sup>

The thickness of the material of the garments is typical of most lady effigies of the latter half of the 13th century. It was not so predominant on the earlier Purbeck marble effigies and those in the Wells style. Good examples are the figure at Axminster (pl. 148), and the copy of this effigy at Membury.<sup>253</sup> It is also seen at Barton Blount, Curry Rivel, Kirkleatham, Seagry and Tilton (pls 149, 150, 151, 169), while the fine figures at West Leake and Gonalston (pls 163 + 152) clearly show the heavy material of the mantles. The general impression at Gayton<sup>254</sup> is one of a dress made of a finer material, while at Darlington the heaviness of the garment is completely absent. The latter effigy has transported into freestone something of the royal elegance seen on the bronze effigy of Queen Eleanor (pls 159 + 160). At Wistow we see a thin material in the zig-zag hemline of the mantle clinging closely to the material beneath, a feature which becomes more prominent in the early 14th century, as on the effigy of Chancellor Swinfield in Hereford Cathedral.<sup>255</sup>

The other conspicuous part of the costume on lady effigies is the headgear. Only one effigy of a lady, at Curry Rivel, has nothing to adorn the head and the hair. The length of the gown covering the feet and the tucking up of the mantle between arm and body are the only aspects to differentiate this effigy from civilian effigies. In three other cases the ladies are bareheaded except for a circlet confining the hair (at Foy I & II) or a coronet, worn by Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey.

About half of the lady effigies show the 'veil' and 'wimple',<sup>256</sup> the latter being a kerchief enveloping the neck, chin and sides of the head and fastened beneath the 'veil', which is a thin piece of cloth worn over the head and falling loosely down on to the shoulders. Sometimes, as at Denham, Wickhampton and Wistow, the veil is confined to the head by a circlet of simple form or adorned with rosettes. Whether the typical head-dress of 'veil and wimple' was originally intended for fashionable ladies and only later for widows is still a matter for discussion, as is the date of introduction.<sup>257</sup> The effigies here studied are not much help in solving these problems, mainly because of the scarcity of examples. But most of the lady effigies showing the unmistakable 'veil and wimple' are of a definitely late 13th century date. For those that may be dated to a somewhat earlier period the forms of the veil and wimple are not so clear. The form of the head-dress on these effigies is often a mixture of the 'veil and wimple' and the so-called 'fillet and barbette'. The 'barbette' is the linen band worn over the head and beneath the chin, and the 'fillet' is the 'pill-box' cap worn round the head, consisting of a stiff band varying in width and often serrated and/or goffered.<sup>258</sup> The hair when shown is gathered together in a 'crespine' to be seen at the sides of the head or on top. Though the 'fillet and barbette' may be seen as a distinct head-dress, often met with in miniatures,<sup>259</sup> there seems to be only one example of a lady effigy wearing it, and that is the oldest lady effigy in Worcester (pl. 157). On several effigies of ladies the fillet and barbette are complemented by a veil as at Ash, Gonalston, Monkton Farleigh, Rand and West Leake (pls 74, 143, 152, 163, 166). On some others the veil and wimple is worn with an extra fillet, as at Romsey (pl. 158), while the rather broad band round the head of Lady Aveline's effigy in Westminster Abbey (pl. 136), sometimes interpreted as a circlet, may also be seen as a fillet. For the effigies at Welsh Bicknor and Wolferlow (pls 146 + 147) it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with a 'fillet and barbette' or a 'veil and wimple'. I would say that since the neck is bare it is the fillet and barbette that is worn, and at Wolferlow an extra veil is held by attendant angels. The fillet on both effigies, however, is of a much softer material than the usual one of 'pill-box' shape. The head preserved at Bradford-on-Avon<sup>260</sup> may be said to show all four forms of head wear (pl. 153). There is clearly a veil and wimple but the double band round the head and that round

the face, though possibly to be interpreted as the ends of the veil and the wimple, are so stiff in form, and goffered at that, that they may be seen as a separate fillet and barrette.

Further there are several effigies that only show the veil, sometimes fixed to the head by a circlet. Examples are found at Gayton, Gloucester, Newton by Toft and Tideswell (?) (pls 162, 167, 168). On those at Gloucester and Newton by Toft the simple head-dress matches the simple garments.

As far as garments are concerned it is only the drapery style on some effigies that can be a help in dating. The head-dresses are not much help, as all varieties are also to be seen on early 14th century effigies. The typical 'pill-box' shape of the fillet tends to give way to a fillet that is less high and that shows the hair on top, while on the other hand the unequivocal veil and wimple of soft material gradually seems to prevail. What strikes me as remarkable, although it has not yet been paid much attention to, is the existence of several intermediate forms of ladies' head-dresses which may be seen as rather typical of the latter part of the 13th century.

### 3.3 *The costume on civilian effigies*

Among the differences between effigies of ladies and those of civilians it is the absence of any head-dress on the latter which first strikes the eye. The two royal effigies in Westminster Abbey (King Henry III) and Worcester Cathedral (King John) wear crowns (pls 172 + 173). The so-called 'coif', a hood of soft material closely fitting the head, so often seen in miniatures, is not met with on 13th century effigies.

The hair is mostly represented by a few curls falling to just over the ears. At Llangerron the hair consists of primitive swellings on the surface, while at Sopley the civilian seems to have an almost bald head (pls 76 + 182). Of the effigies that have the heads preserved in a recognisable state there are five with bearded faces: at Bristol, Compton Martin, Winterbourne Bassett and the two effigies of Kings in Westminster Abbey and Worcester Cathedral.

The different garments worn by the civilians may in general be compared with those seen on lady effigies. Instead of the 'kirtle, gown and mantle' the civilian effigies show the 'tunic', 'supertunic' and 'mantle'.<sup>261</sup> The mantle is seen on the two royal effigies in Westminster Abbey and Worcester Cathedral. Both effigies are clothed in royal garments, of which the mantle, especially on the



effigy of King Henry III with a clasp on the right shoulder, plays a distinctive part.<sup>262</sup> A mantle with a cord from shoulder to shoulder is only seen on the effigy of a civilian at Bristol (pl. 177). The absence of a mantle on so many effigies of civilians is remarkable and contrasts with the predominance of mantles on several lady effigies.

Just like the corresponding garments on lady effigies, the tunic and supertunic can only be differentiated when the latter is either sleeveless or has somewhat wider sleeves to the forearms. The tight-fitting sleeves of the tunic are then shown near the wrists. The tunic can be seen at the sides, if the supertunic has fitchets, as at Hatford and Winterbourne Bassett (pls 181 + 185). The supertunics on the effigies at Long Ashton and Seavington St Michael show a split in the lower front part, something that does not occur on lady effigies (pls 183 + 184). Girdles are shown on the effigies at Bristol, Compton Martin, Llangerron, Paulton and Worcester (King John). At Bristol there is the extra adornment of a brooch beneath the chin. Besides the bare head and the absence of the mantle, the length of the supertunic provides another striking difference with lady effigies. On lady effigies the gown always reaches so low as to cover the feet almost completely, whereas on civilian effigies the supertunic only reaches to somewhere between knees and ankles, leaving the ankles, insteps and feet entirely free.<sup>263</sup>

The effigies at Compton Martin and Paulton are both notable because they show a borderline case between military and civilian dress (pls 176 + 178). The rather broad girdle at Compton Martin looks rather like a sword-belt, while the drawn sword is shown held at the right side. The rest of the dress is clearly the civilian supertunic reaching from the neck, with a kind of stand-up collar, to the upper part of the calves. The effigy at Paulton has been described as a military effigy.<sup>264</sup> It has a real sword-belt with scabbard and sheathed sword, and further a shield and shield-strap. The supertunic may be interpreted as the military surcoat, though there is not the usual split in front. There is no hauberk: the wide sleeves shown between elbows and wrists preclude this. Beneath the wide sleeves a tunic seems to be worn with sleeves fitting closely at the wrists. The effigy is bareheaded, a feature not seen on knightly effigies before the early 14th century and then only in the north. I can detect no mail on the legs or the feet. Both effigies, at Compton

Martin and at Paulton, can be described as civilians with extra military equipment.

At Sopley the civilian effigy shows a kind of hood attached to the supertunic (pl. 76).

Though most civilian effigies are either too much weathered (Hereford and Pilton), too grossly cut (Long Ashton), or just too simple (Curry Rivel and Newton by Toft) to reveal enough drapery style to call for discussion, others show a drapery style that makes comparisons possible.

At Bures, for instance, we see some reminiscences of the 'damp-fold' style of several 12th century Romanesque figures (pl. 174).<sup>265</sup>

The royal effigy of King John at Worcester shows the typical Purbeck marble, goldsmithlike drapery style of before the middle of the century, which has been described definitively by Andersson.<sup>266</sup> No other civilian effigy shows the same or a similar style of drapery.

The drapery style of the rather simple and coarse, parallel folds on the effigy at Bristol remind one of the Wells style,<sup>267</sup> though the high, sculptural quality has gone. The very simple but ordered folds on the effigy at Compton Martin should also be mentioned. They are rather to be compared with the folds on the Bristol effigy than with those on the effigy at Paulton.<sup>268</sup> The drapery style on the latter is absolutely different in the irregular flat planes alternating with irregular folds.

The Purbeck marble effigies of the later 13th century, at Dartmouth, Plymouth and Winchelsea (pl. 71), show the monotonous, thick, tube-like folds that are to a great extent dictated by the hardness of the material. Something similar to this gross drapery style is seen on the Purbeck marble effigy at Sopley. These effigies may be grouped with the Purbeck marble lady effigies of the same period, (see above pp. 96-7).

The drapery style on the effigy of King Henry III, and on Queen Eleanor, both in Westminster Abbey, remains unique and may best be described as 'classical'. Though general French influence has been adduced, it remains difficult to find exact parallels.<sup>269</sup>

The thick material of the supertunic is especially telling on the effigies at Gayton, Hatford and Seavington St Michael, on which the drapery consists of long and broad flat planes alternating with only a few bulgings and hollows to indicate folds (pls 180, 181, 183). In comparison the easy, but also rather simple, drapery on the effigy at Egginton suggests a lighter and finer material for

the supertunic, which may well point to the very end of the century (pl. 175).

### 3.4 *The costume and armour on military effigies* <sup>270</sup>

#### 3.4.1 *Head-coverings*

The mail coif, the commonest head covering, is a close fitting hood of mail covering the neck and the top, back and sides of the head, mostly also the chin, and in two or three cases the mouth as well (e.g. at Salisbury and Monkton Farleigh I & II (pls 3, 40, 41). When, as is mostly the case, the mail has been indicated by rows of interlocking rings, two types of mail coifs can be discerned. A minor group is formed by those coifs in which the seams of the mail form elliptical lines round the face, running from below the chin across the top of the head. The type occurs throughout our period,<sup>271</sup> and is seen at East Tuddenham (pl. 115), Hitchin, Little Horkesley (I, and II of an early 14th century date), London (Temple Church I), Sandwich, Sudborough and Sullington. The mail often follows closely the shape of the head and no attention is paid to the fact that a cap may have been worn underneath.

Most coifs show the seams round the head, ending towards the face and forming full circles round the top of the head. These coifs practically always show the outline of a metal skull-cap beneath.<sup>272</sup> The form of this cap, being either more or less flat or rounded, has mostly been taken as a sure sign of an early or late 13th century date.<sup>273</sup> This, however, is an over-simplification. The effigy at Salisbury (I) has the mail coif over a flattened cap beneath. The lower edge of the cap is clearly indicated and the flattened top starts immediately above it. The round cap beneath the mail coif is well represented by the effigies at Danbury (pls 55 + 56). The form is almost that of a half sphere. The difficulty, however, is that it is not possible to group all caps into precisely these two categories; there are many intermediate forms. Flattened mail coifs, more or less identical to the Salisbury one, are seen at Abbey Dore (I; pl. 13), Exeter, Great Malvern, Monkton Farleigh (III), Shaftesbury, Shepton Mallet (I) and Wareham (I). Somewhat less flattened are the coifs found at Burton Coggles (pl. 82), Chaddesleigh Corbett, Draycott le Moors and Hampton, while the flatness of those at Netley (pl. 120), Nettlecombe, Winchelsea and Worcester may be ascribed to the absence of an indication of a skull-cap

beneath. A little more rounded are the coifs at Atherington (pl. 6), Pitchford, Rushton and Stowe-Nine-Churches. A still more rounded form is found at Eastwick and Pershore. Perfectly round ones may be found at Bottesford (pl. 121) and Much Cowarne, and the effigy at Abbey Dore (II) seems to be one of the first to show this form.

The forms of the mail coifs are really too diverse to enable us to classify them. There seems to be a gradual change from flat caps beneath mail coifs towards almost spherical ones. The really round caps do not seem to occur on early effigies. Flat coifs in themselves are no sure sign of an early date. The only thing we know is that the flat mail coif over a clearly flat skull-cap is typical of many, but not all, early examples.

Some other aspects of the mail coif need to be looked at. Thus there is the fillet that is sometimes shown tightening the mail to the cap beneath. Its width may vary considerably: sometimes it is shown woven through the mail, as at Chaddesleigh Corbett (pl. 78), Shepton Mallet and Rostherene, or as just a tightening band as at Stowe-Nine-Churches (pl. 32) and Tickenham. At Winchelsea it ends, illogically, at the edge of the face opening (pl. 69); mostly, however, it forms a full circle round the head above the face opening, occasionally in a sloping position, thus blurring the typical form of the cap underneath. In a few instances there are two fillets, as on the similar heads at Farnborough and Rushton, one fillet clearly above and the other below the edge of the cap beneath (pls 21 + 130).

Further there is the ventail, the loose flap of mail fastened at one side of the head. It may be seen at Bristol (I), East Tuddenham, Exeter, Iddesleigh (pl. 7), Farnborough, London (Temple Church V) and Pershore. Elsewhere the seams of the mail running towards the face make an angle below the chin, thus suggesting a fastening up of the two halves there. This is seen at Abbey Dore (I & II pls 13 + 19), Down Ampney, Exeter, Horton and Sefton. The possible fastening of the coif at this spot is not mentioned in works on armour.<sup>274</sup>

It seems to be of importance to distinguish between coifs that are part of the hauberk and separate coifs. Some twenty coifs form one whole with the hauberk, most of them early examples (at Atherington (pl. 6), Draycott le Moors and Mavesyn Ridware), though later ones also occur as at East Tuddenham (pl. 114) and Rostherne.<sup>275</sup>

Eleven effigies show the head covered by the so-called great helmet.<sup>276</sup> It is the cylindrical, flat-topped helmet covering the head completely. There are always slight differences in the details of the horizontal eyeslit, the breathing holes (often also absent) and the bar across the front. The head covering is often seen on seals of the time showing the knight on horseback.<sup>277</sup> It was worn both during battle and also in tournaments, which became rather popular in the latter half of the century.<sup>278</sup> Though there seems to have been a development towards a more rounded top,<sup>279</sup> it is important to observe that there is hardly any difference between the great helmet seen at Seaborough (identical with the great helmet worn by a statue on the Wells front),<sup>280</sup> and those worn at Pitlington and Whitworth and some other places in County Durham <sup>281</sup> at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century (pls 8, 9, 108, 109).

Four effigies in London (Temple Church III, IV, VII and VIII (pls 27 + 29) show peculiar head coverings. The 'balaclava helmet' of some kind of hardened material, seems to be unique, while the 'bearskin' type is not seen on other effigies either. The padded leather cap with a thick edge over the mail coif on Temple Church VII and over a leather coif on VIII may be compared to similar head coverings on three knightly statues at Wells <sup>282</sup> and the effigy at Iddesleigh (pls 1 + 7). This type may have been used as a support for the great helmet.<sup>283</sup> The thick band sometimes found on the lower part of the neck, as at Treeton (pl. 107) and Bristol (I), may have served as a similar support on the shoulders.<sup>284</sup> At Mamble a kind of hat with a somewhat extending lower brim is seen worn over the coif (pl. 94).<sup>285</sup> It may be compared with a head of a knight in Peterborough Museum <sup>286</sup> where, however, the cap fits far more closely over a padded undercovering. At Kingsdon a rather soft cap is worn closely over the mail coif and fastened by a band below the chin (pl. 59). Though these peculiar head coverings seem to be rather exceptional on effigies, they are often met with in miniatures, sometimes even up to four or five different types in one miniature.<sup>287</sup>

The metal conical head covering called the 'bascinet',<sup>288</sup> even in its early form, does not belong to the 13th century. Uncovered heads for knightly effigies, very common on French examples of the time, do not occur in 13th century England.<sup>289</sup>

### 3.4.2 *The hauberk and the representation of mail. Leg defences and other pieces of armour*

The hauberk is a coat of mail completely covering the trunk and arms and reaching to about the knees, where a little split is sometimes seen. The hands are mostly covered by bag-like extensions of the hauberk either referred to as 'mittens', or 'mufflers',<sup>290</sup> having a separate piece for the thumb only, or, in a dozen cases, real gloves having separate divisions for all the fingers. Examples of the latter are found at Abbey Dore (II), Newton Solney and Sefton (pls 19, 44, 93). At Mamble the backs of the mittens are covered by an extra piece of hand defence (pl. 94). In only a few cases can we see bare hands with loose mittens or gloves hanging down from the wrists, as at Bottesford, Orton Longueville, Pershore, Rostherne, Seaborough and Tenbury (pls 8, 52, 121).

Our discussion of the mail of the coif, the hauberk, or the leg defence, is primarily concerned with those effigies on which the mail has been carved. When not carved, the mail was impressed on a layer of gesso, traces of which have hardly ever remained. Gesso seems to have been used on a dozen effigies of this study, none of them dating from before the end of the third quarter of the century.<sup>291</sup> It is only on the most important effigy with the mail not carved, the Crouchback figure in Westminster Abbey, that considerable traces of the mail imprinted on the gesso ground can still be seen. Moreover, one might say that with this royal effigy the use of gesso receives official sanction, in a similar way that the figure of Edward II at Gloucester somewhat later officially established the use of alabaster.<sup>292</sup>

In cases where the mail has been carved and come down to us in a distinguishable form, the different representations of it have given rise to archaeological puzzles. There is mail that is indicated by bands of little curved lines, running from shoulder to wrists or round the arm, and there is mail represented by interlaced rings.

The use of bands or rings seems to a great extent regionally determined, as the interlaced rings especially occur in the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire districts.<sup>293</sup> As the effigies in these parts are mostly of a later date in the century, the presence of interlaced rings may generally be seen as a late characteristic. Yet we should be careful in drawing conclusions. Examples of interlaced rings in the southern part of England are found in Westminster Abbey

(Crouchback figure) and at Mablethorpe (pls 126 + 95).<sup>294</sup> As to date, we have the knight at Blyth in Nottinghamshire, clearly of an earlier date<sup>295</sup> and moreover made of the southern Purbeck marble (pl. 42).

As yet no evidence has been produced that the difference is based on a real difference between two separate kinds of mail, and, indeed, it is most likely that we have to do with a different visualization of the same kind of mail. Chatwin has already pointed to this possibility.<sup>296</sup> He mentions two knights at Coleshill, of the same date (i.e. early 14th century) but by different hands, showing both kinds of mail next to each other, and further an effigy at Aston, also of the early 14th century, showing both kinds of mail on one and the same monument. A further example may be added to the three given by Chatwin: an effigy at Furness of the early 14th century on which the two kinds of mail seem to blend into one another.<sup>297</sup> The interlaced rings may simply be the more realistic representation.

When the mail on the arms has been represented by bands of little curved lines, these bands sometimes run from shoulder to wrist instead of, more commonly, round the arm. The former phenomenon has been considered as a sure indication of the work having been made in a Bristol workshop or at least under Bristol workshop influence as defined by Fryer.<sup>298</sup> Andersson<sup>299</sup> has been more circumspect by assuming the detail to be simply one of the characteristics of works made in the Wells or later Bristol workshops. However, Andersson still considers it as a typical representation of mail that was first used on the knightly statues of the Wells front. He could find no earlier example in the whole of Europe, either in sculpture or in miniature painting, though he admits that the phenomenon is common on French tombs of the second half of the 13th century and in French and German miniatures of the same period. The earliest instance outside the Wells style that he mentions, a small kneeling figure personifying Tigris on a font at Hildesheim of c1230,<sup>300</sup> is really too close in date to Wells for direct influence from England on Germany to be assumed. The same is true, in my opinion, of several French effigies, such as the fine one of Jean d'Alluye, of c1250, from La Charité-Dieu near Le Mans and now preserved in The Cloisters, New York.<sup>301</sup> As for miniatures, the representation of mail is often arbitrary. A miniature of c1200 in the British Museum<sup>302</sup> shows two knights

one with the seams of the mail round the arms and the other along the arms. Further there is the seal of Robert Fitzwalter (1198-1234),<sup>303</sup> which also shows the seams along the arms. In sculpture early examples can be found on the Romanesque Portal of the Leonhardskirche at Frankfurt, Germany,<sup>304</sup> and on a capital at Estella, Spain, of the end of the 12th century.<sup>305</sup>

It is true that in England itself there are many examples with this representation of mail in the Wells and Bristol area. Several other examples in the region, however, do not show it, while there are also many effigies with this particular detail from other districts. Later in this study<sup>306</sup> I shall bring together several effigies, most of them of Purbeck marble and dated by me to the end of the century, of which several, but again not all, show this particular detail. Indeed, the characteristic cannot possibly be taken as a sure sign of Wells or Bristol make. It occurs throughout the century and even well into the 14th century on quite distinct effigies. I have counted 53 examples for the 13th century, of which 14 are not mentioned by either Fryer or Andersson.<sup>307</sup> Moreover, it has to be pointed out that we cannot speak of two really different kinds of mail. At Trentham<sup>308</sup> we see the mail carved along the upper arm and round the forearm. Certain types of carving may be typical of certain groups but never exclusively so.

Another 'archaeological puzzle' is the so-called banded mail as seen at Newton Solney<sup>309</sup> (pl. 44). It was taken to be yet another kind of mail, and even Andersson thought there was something special about it,<sup>310</sup> though nowadays it is mostly seen as just another conventional method of representing ordinary mail.<sup>311</sup> Examining it closely we see that with this 'banded mail' the line between the rows of incised lines is not cut out and consequently lies a bit higher than the incised curved lines. In cases where there is no 'banded mail', the line has been cut out separately. Seen from a distance both kinds give much the same effect, although the lines of the 'banded mail' may be a bit more clearly marked. There are also cases in which there is no separate line at all between the incised curved lines and still the effect is that of a line, as at Pershore (pl. 52). It is revealing that Andersson 'saw' this not-cut-out, high line of the 'banded mail' on the effigy at Walkern as reproduced in Prior & Gardner's book.<sup>312</sup> It must have been an optical illusion. The actual effigy clearly shows a cut-out line between the rows of incised curved lines. 'Banded mail' as such was not a



specific kind of mail differing from the mail not showing the high-lying lines between the seams, nor is it an indication of a late date, as is thought by Andersson. Indeed, more early 14th century effigies than 13th century ones have it, though there are the early examples at Kirkstead and Newton Solney (pls 18 + 44).

The mail covering the feet and legs is of the same kind as that of the hauberk and coif. The mailed feet show some form of shoe, but separate shoes worn over the mail are never shown. Round the ankles and the instep are mostly a strap and a spur. The protruding part of the spur has only sporadically been preserved. It is there in its original form at Eastwick, where it is of the 'prick' kind (pl. 33). No 'rowel' spur seems to have been preserved.<sup>313</sup> Neither the strap nor the spur are of any help in determining a date as there remain too few of them and on those that have survived there is no noteworthy development in form.

As for the covering of thighs and knees, the early effigies do not normally show any, as thighs and knees are hidden beneath the lower part of the hauberk, as at Eastwick (pl. 33), Sullington, Walkern and Wareham (I). Later on the hauberk is often shorter, reaching to above the knees and often with a little split in front, which enables things worn over the knee to be shown. Thus a narrow fillet or strap is commonly seen just below the knee, apparently to avoid the dragging down of the mail. Later on again the thigh-defence called 'cuisses',<sup>314</sup> made of a hardened material (possibly 'cuir bouilli'),<sup>315</sup> is shown reaching to just across the knees. When only part of the knee is seen, it is not always clear whether what we see is part of the thigh-defence or a knee-cap. The effigies at Gloucester (pl. 96) and London (Temple Church II and V), though not entirely reliable on account of the many restorations, seem to have definite thigh-defences, as is also the case with the figures at Coverham and Kirton-in-Lindsey. We can also be positive about several early 14th century examples at Rippingale, Sprotborough and West Tanfield (pls 110 + 111). With the effigies at Burton Coggles, Down Ampney and Rushton it is probably not knee-caps that are shown but the lower part of the thigh-defences covering the knees as in the other examples (pls 21, 79, 82). At East Tuddenham and Wickhampton we clearly see knee-caps, which are additional and more or less circular devices stuck on to coverings that have then to be taken as thigh-

defences (pls 114 + 115). At Mavesyn Ridware and Salisbury (II) these circular devices are just stuck on to the mail (pls 26 + 63). At Mamble the thigh-defences are different from those mentioned so far in showing vertical lines and further in showing double (?) knee-caps consisting of square pieces of cloth and strings (pl. 95).

If knee-caps other than the circular devices just mentioned can be distinguished from the thigh-defences covering the knees, they seem to have been made of 'cuir bouilli' and not metal. At Kingsdon they consist of square pieces of leather fastened behind the knees by thongs (pl. 59). At Sefton and Winchelsea, if not part of the thigh-defences, they, too, must have been made of leather (pls 70 + 93). At Chaddesleigh Corbett the knee-caps are of an advanced type, showing a ridge in front, yet the impression is still more one of leather than of metal (pl. 78). This becomes clear when we compare them with such unequivocal knee-caps as at Buslingthorpe, Hawstead and Winteringham,<sup>316</sup> which are really made of metal and have pivot joints and rows of little holes for the fastening of the mail. These devices are not seen on 13th century effigies. At Pittington and Whitworth the knee-caps were painted on gesso, no longer to be seen, and the exact form, probably rather advanced, is therefore difficult to ascertain (pls 108 + 109).

On three effigies elbow-caps were found: at Mavesyn Ridware (restored), Salisbury (II) and Wareham (II) (pls 26 + 63). At Mavesyn Ridware and Salisbury the elbow caps are exactly like the knee-caps; circular devices stuck on to the mail and hardly representing real caps, while at Wareham (II) the elbow cap looks like a leather piece bound round the elbow. Elbow-caps were a regular feature in the 14th century, as at Boyton<sup>317</sup> where, incidentally, they were not carved but painted on gesso.

On a few 13th century effigies a separate garment was worn beneath the hauberk and occasionally between surcoat and mail. The part shown is mostly the hem, which appears just below the hem of the hauberk, provided that the hauberk and surcoat are short enough, or that the latter has a large enough split. From this it will be clear that this garment is not seen on earlier effigies. The garment meant is very probably the 'gambeson',<sup>318</sup> a padded garment to lighten the pressure of the mail above it. This is seen at Draycot Cerne (pl. 80), Furness (I & II), Great Hasely (I), Sampford Brett, Tilton, Wickhampton and also London (Temple

Church VII) where it is of a clearly softer material. The 'gambeson' is far commoner in the early 14th century and later. It is then often depicted on brasses and alabaster effigies, for on such monuments as many minute and as realistic details could be engraved or painted as were considered desirable.

The surcoats at Horton (pl. 67), Kirkstead, Rostherne and elsewhere seem to be made of a thicker material, something like the stuff of the gambeson, but this impression may well be due to the more primitive technique of carving.<sup>319</sup>

The 13th century effigy at Pershore, unique in more than one way, shows the detail of an extra garment worn between hauberk and surcoat, which should then be distinguished from the 'gambeson' (pl. 52).<sup>320</sup>

### 3.4.3 *The surcoat*

The surcoat is the long, sleeveless gown worn over the hauberk. As yet there is no evidence why a surcoat was worn. It may have been for keeping the armour clean or dry, or for displaying heraldry.<sup>321</sup> The length of the surcoat has often been taken as a decisive criterion for dating, as if the surcoat became shorter according to a set pattern, but this view has proved to be untenable.<sup>322</sup> Any length of surcoat is to be found at any time of the century. Throughout the century the surcoat may reach to any part of the legs, to just above the knee, to just across it, to the upper, middle and lower part of the calves, and almost to the ankles. Any classification on the basis of surcoat length is necessarily arbitrary.

Surcoats reaching to the feet do not exist. Effigies showing a long surcoat, almost reaching to the ankles or the lower part of the calves, are rather common. I have counted almost forty of them. The figure at Old Sodbury has a very long surcoat and may be early. Those of Coverham (pl. 105) and in Westminster Abbey (Crouchback) and others of the early 14th century at Hatfield Broad Oak, Rippingale and West Tanfield show a similar long garment. In between them are found those at Eastwick, Stowe-Nine-Churches and elsewhere. Very short surcoats, to above the knee, are not often seen on 13th century effigies. Those at Pittington and Whitworth in County Durham show them, as well as the knight at Stockerston (pl. 119). Short surcoats falling to the knees or just covering them are seen throughout the century. Examples are found in London (Temple Church IV, II & VII), at Salisbury

(I), Kirkstead and Newton Solney, and later on at Danbury (I & II), London (Southwark) and Winchelsea, while examples between the two groups are found at Furness. Surcoats that reach somewhat lower, to about the calves, as at Castle Ashby, Pitchford and Tickenham, are again rather common.

The shortening of the surcoat, especially in front, is definitely a 14th century phenomenon.<sup>323</sup> The choice between shorter or longer garments in the 13th century may have been due to several reasons. The rather long surcoats at Bristol (St Mary Redcliffe; pl. 60) and Dorchester, or at Hatfield Broak Oak, agree well with the overall liveliness of the figures, whereas their shortness stresses the tautness of the figures at Furness (pl. 49), Kirkstead and Wickhampton. Further the comparatively great length of the surcoats at Horstead Keynes (pl. 117) and Tenbury may be the result of the small size of the effigies.

The drapery of the surcoat folds has been handled in various ways. Several distinctions in drapery style between groups of effigies can be made, while developments within a particular style are sometimes also possible. It is these distinctions and developments of drapery style—rather than the presence or absence of mere details of articles of dress or armour—that may reveal useful hints for dating. A discussion of drapery style at this point is therefore necessary.

The 'ripple drapery' seen on the statues of the Wells façade is well known.<sup>324</sup> It is the style of the thin, finely pleated folds in parallel, often U-shaped lines. The impression is one of stiffness because of the parallel and strong curves. The surfaces in between are flat and rather broad. The ridges of the folds are narrow but rounded. The best example among the effigies is the one of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral, of which no author has failed to see the obvious resemblance with especially the knightly statues on the Wells front<sup>325</sup> (pls 1, 2, 3). This typical drapery style had a great influence and it can be seen on several monuments in the south-west. Fryer and later on Andersson<sup>326</sup> have made lists of monuments that show this characteristic drapery style. The issue has been confused, however, due to the great attention they have paid to the representation of the mail on the arms, which, as mentioned before, has proved to be unsuitable as a criterion for differentiation.

There is an obvious likeness in drapery between the effigies

at Salisbury (I), Shepton Mallet (I & II), Atherington (not mentioned by Fryer) and Seaborough (not mentioned by either author), while a somewhat remote influence may be seen at Iddesleigh, Tickenham (I), Bristol (St Mark's I), and Mavesyn Ridware (again not mentioned by either author). Traces of influence are discernible at Abbey Dore (I), Bitton, Great Malvern, Old Sodbury, Shrewsbury (I), Worcester and perhaps some others (pls 1 + 16). A similarity of style is seen by Andersson in the Purbeck effigies at Lewes, Sullington and Wareham (I) and the freestone one at Pershore (pls 35, 36, 52).<sup>327</sup> At Wareham it seems to me to be clearer than on the other three, where the drapery style much better fits the Westminster-Lincoln style as defined by Stone.<sup>328</sup> The Purbeck marble figure work of the London workshops has specific trends at the end of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th century, after which it gradually declined, while about 1250 a new florid style came to the fore. The drapery is then treated in the sparse pleated style of Wells, with the material clinging closely to the body. Besides some bishops' effigies it may be seen on an effigy in London (Temple Church I) and perhaps at Wareham (I) as well. The style quickly develops into the typical Westminster style of the 1250s: harder ridges, often broad, and sharper V-folds as opposed to the subtle ripples of Wells. Something of this style may be detected in London (Temple Church III, VII & VIII) and Great Hasely (II) (pls 27, 29, 39). Then we have the so-called Westminster-Lincoln style with traces of Wells influence lingering on. The folds are more flowing and the ridges tend to become sharper. As for funerary figures, some authors mention the effigy at Pershore, but I think the style may also be seen at Lewes and to a somewhat lesser extent in London (Temple Church VI), Shrewsbury (I), Stowe-Nine-Churches, Sotherton, Sullington and perhaps in some other examples, which I could date, on account of attitude, to the third quarter of the century (e.g. the trunk of a knight at Monkton Farleigh III).

At the end of the century we can detect firstly a development of the Bristol style with a heavier, more naturalistic drapery: broader ridges and planes as if indicating a thicker material. Two clear examples are the knightly effigies at Bristol (St Mark's II and St Mary Redcliffe; pl. 60) and there are other examples in the region as at Nettlecombe, Porlock and Stock Gaylard (pls 84, 88, 89). The use of this weighty material for the surcoat, resulting

in a few folds and large flat planes, is typical of many effigies of the end of the century. It is not only seen on those of the Bristol area, but also on the fine effigy at Pitchford (pl. 58) and on such diverse ones as at Horstead Keynes (pl. 117), Inkpen, Sefton, Shrewsbury (II), Tenbury Wells and Wickhampton.

The London drapery style, with its precise, sharp and hard folds, continued for some time, till at the end of the century it was superseded by the quieter, softer and more impressionistic drapery style seen on the Crouchback figure in Westminster Abbey.<sup>329</sup>

It should be noted that at the end of the century not all surcoats give the impression of being made of the weighty stuff mentioned above. Several surcoats are clearly of a lighter fabric and show more subtle folds, as at Danbury (I & II; pls 55 + 56). The fine, fashionable material comes out best in the representation of the silken overlappings of c1300 and just afterwards, as seen on the Swinfield effigy in Hereford Cathedral.<sup>330</sup> The lighter surcoat is also seen at Goxhill, and further at Gloucester and Dorchester where the strong lines of the folds without clear V-forms would point to a later development from the third quarter of the 13th century (pls 96 + 97).

A separate group is formed by those effigies on which the folds are indicated by a few lines separating hard bulgings, stressing the hardness of the marble and perhaps revealing a loss of carving technique. It is seen on the group of Purbeck marble effigies which I have dated, on account of attitude, to the end of the century, as at Ashendon, Salisbury (II) and elsewhere.<sup>331</sup>

In the northern regions, in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, there is an indigenous movement towards a new romanticism.<sup>332</sup> The typically Yorkshire effigies show broad, flowing folds of long surcoats. Though superficially showing some affinities to such effigies in the West Country as at Bristol (St Mary Redcliffe), and though foreign sources in contemporary German sculpture have been adduced, this florid romantic style belongs to the area, dictated as it is by the soft quality of the limestone of this northern district.

It is best seen on the effigy at Coverham (pl. 105). The style, however, belongs to the early 14th century, from which period the knight at Bedale may also be mentioned.<sup>333</sup> The Lincolnshire effigies show something similar, though the drapery looks less complicated and calmer and the broad, heavy folds are only to be

seen on the lower part of the surcoat spread out on the slab. Examples are found at Buslingthorpe and Rippingale, with an effigy very similar to the latter at West Tanfield in Yorkshire<sup>334</sup> (pls 110 + 111). These monuments, too, should be studied in relation to other 14th century effigies.

The surcoats are held together round the waist or just above it by a girdle sometimes referred to by its Latin name 'cingulum'.<sup>335</sup> The girdle varies in width and mostly has a buckle in the middle and a loose end beyond it. This article of dress should be distinguished from the sword-belt. The difference is obvious when both a girdle and a sword-belt are worn. This is not the case on about 40 figures, when identification is more difficult. If no scabbard or sword has been represented, as at East Tuddenham and Mamble (pls 95 + 115), we have to do with a girdle. The same is true, I think, for such effigies as at Great Malvern and Pitlington (pl. 108), where there is a naked weapon, but where the absence of a scabbard and the straight line of the belt round the waist without any dragging down would indicate a girdle. On others it must primarily be considered to be a sword-belt, of which something will be said below.

The single belt cannot be considered as typical of a specific group of effigies, nor as an indication of a certain date. It occurs on a number of the earlier knightly figures of the West Country, and also on several of the London group of effigies, and on some of other regions as well. Many early knights show the single belt, but not all, and later examples do occur as well.

#### 3.4.4. *The sword, the sword-belt and the shield*

There is not much to say, in the context of this study, of the swords and their scabbards.<sup>336</sup> Their lengths vary as the lengths of the actual swords may have varied, but certainly also, I think, according to the length of the effigy and the expression of action aimed at. The large sword and scabbard depicted at Bristol (St Mark's II) agree well with the over-life size of the effigy.

The pommel of the sword is practically always of a circular form. A few show the multi-lobed form, while the Brazil-nut form also occurs.<sup>337</sup> As nearly any kind of pommel form may occur between the 11th and the 14th centuries the pommel is obviously of little use in determining a more precise date for 13th century effigies.

Whether the sword is sheathed or drawn a few inches from its

scabbard, as well as the more or less diagonal placing of scabbard and sword across the body, are items dealt with in the chapter on attitude. In the same chapter are discussed those effigies that show a naked sword held upwards. A few knights show a drawn sword held downwards in the right hand: at Great Hasely (I) the sword follows the line of the right leg, and in London (Temple Church I) and at Newton Solney it is held along the right side of the body (pls 28, 44, 45).

Those effigies have to be mentioned here on which scabbard and sheathed sword are depicted lying on the slab almost beneath the body or close to it. This position of the sword is found at Atherington, London (Temple Church III & IV), Merevale (pl. 31), Salisbury (I), Seaborough, Shepton Mallet (I), Stowe-Nine-Churches and Tickenham. At Gloucester and Eastwick and elsewhere the place of the sword is to the left of the body and seems to provide an intermediate position between these and the most common one: on the body at the left. The different placings of the scabbard and/or sword mentioned so far may be seen as an indication of the individual treatment of knightly figures in the 13th century before the introduction of more shopwork-defined monuments.

There is only one example that shows a weapon that is clearly different from the sword: at Great Malvern the knight is holding a kind of axe.<sup>338</sup>

The sword-belt can be either different from or identical with the girdle. When only one belt is represented we have only occasionally to do with a girdle. Mostly it is the sword-belt that is meant. We can see this from the presence of scabbard and/or sword, even if the attachment of scabbard to belt has not actually been indicated (as at Kirkstead), and further especially by the belt being dragged down at one side.

Practically all sword-belts seem to be attached in one way or another to the girdle, at the back of the figure, though in one or two cases, e.g. at Abbey Dore (II), the girdle is worn too high to make such a supposition possible.

Next some characteristics of the sword-belt have to be noticed. Besides the common presence of a buckle and a loose end there is the width, the manner of attachment of scabbard to sword-belt, and the presence of adornment, if any. The width of the sword-belt varies from about one to three inches. The broadest belts are



mainly seen on later 13th century effigies.<sup>339</sup> There is a general tendency for the sword-belt to become broader as the century progresses, though late 13th century and even early 14th century effigies with narrow sword-belts do exist, e.g. at Danbury.

As regards the attachment of scabbard to sword-belt this seems to become more intricate in the course of the century.<sup>340</sup> The sword-belt on later effigies is sometimes attached to the scabbard at two places instead of one, the belt is shown wrapped once or twice round the scabbard, or some extra straps are shown across or behind the scabbard. Examples of these different ways of fastening are found at Castle Ashby (not necessarily the first example of a double fastening),<sup>341</sup> at Bottesford and Walkern (pls 20, 64, 121). Many effigies, including late ones, just show a simple attachment, which may well be because the sculptors did not bother about the exact representation of attachment of scabbard to sword-belt.

As far as the adornment of the sword-belt is concerned, the little holes for the point of the buckle to slip through have mostly been indicated. Further there are sword-belts that are adorned with little bars of different types, sometimes with rosettes or diamonds between them, as at Bristol (St Mark's II), Pitchford, Stowe-Nine-Churches and London (Temple Church II & VI). As was to be expected, such attention to detail is to be found on effigies that in general terms are above the average. Neither should we forget that sword-belts were almost certainly painted in contrasting colours. Details of adornments on sword-belts, and other parts as well, are a normal feature of effigies of after 1300, when attention to the minutest details becomes the most prominent aspect of effigy making.

Not all knightly figures carry a shield: I have counted about 15 without one. It is oftener absent on praying knights, but certainly not on all. Two examples of praying knights with a shield are found at Bulmer (pl. 104) and Coverham, and two examples of sword-drawing knights without a shield may be found at Shrewsbury (II) and London (Southwark; pl. 125). The four wooden effigies at Danbury (I & II), Gloucester and Pitchford, having no shield now, did formerly have one, as can be inferred from the survival of the shield-strap ending abruptly near the left side of the body.

The shield-strap, sometimes called by its French name 'guige',<sup>342</sup> is a narrow band worn across the right shoulder, with mostly a

buckle and a loose end depicted on the chest, and going to the left to be fastened to the shield worn on the left arm. In a very few cases some glimpse can be had of how the arm was put through one of two narrow straps at the back of the shield, as e.g. at Stowe-Nine-Churches (pl. 32).

Unlike the French manner, the shield is carried between shoulder and hip. The French manner of carrying it from the hip downwards seems a direct imitation of statues. In most knightly statues the shield rested on the ground with the left hand laid gently on the upper edge. English effigies, being always less statue-like than French ones, never adopted this method.<sup>343</sup>

The shields themselves have been described by most authors as being either 'kite-shaped' or 'heater-shaped' after the object they more or less resemble.<sup>344</sup> The kite-shaped shield is very long, reaching from the shoulder to as far as the knee, pointed sharply below and having a square or somewhat rounded top. The whole form is concave towards the body. The purely heater-shaped shield is much smaller with a square top and the point below much rounded off. The shield is not concave but simply straight. A typical example of the former, though a bit battered, is found at Eastwick, and of the latter at Whitworth (pls 33 + 109).

The strict division into merely two types is far too crude: there are many intermediate forms. There are small kite-shaped shields (e.g. Bristol, St Mark's I) and there are big and long heater-shaped shields (e.g. Abbey Dore II and Down Ampney). Further there are many forms other than concave and straight, while neither the more concave nor the more straight ones strictly coincide with either the kite-shaped or heater-shaped shields. As for chronology, we can say that there is a tendency from longer towards shorter shields, but no strict rules can be given. From this it will be clear that the form of the shield by itself cannot be a criterion for dating effigies in the 13th century.

The placing of the shield squarely on the breast of the knightly figure will be discussed as a separate item in the chapter on attitude, while the painting of charges on the shields has been commented on in the introductory chapter.<sup>345</sup>

## 4. ATTITUDE

### 4.1 *Introduction*

In this chapter will be described the way the effigy is lying on the slab. The importance of describing effigies from the point of view of attitude will by now have become clear. As details of dress and armour prove to be an unsound basis for classifying 13th century effigies and as genealogical documentary evidence is practically absent, a stylistic analysis remains the only satisfying approach. In such an analysis the study of attitude is naturally of prime importance.

The two main aspects by which the attitude of an effigy can be measurably demonstrated, are the positions of the hands and the legs. Although the positions of hands and legs on one effigy are often complementary to the expression of a certain kind of attitude, I have treated them separately in order to achieve greater clarity, making cross-references where necessary.

In a few cases, as in some effigies of ladies, attitude is expressed by the drapery of the gown. If such an attitude is perceptible, it has either already been treated in the chapter on costume, or it will be discussed here, if the descriptions of the positions of the legs require it. The inclination sometimes given to the head of an effigy always has some relation to the attitude of the rest of the body. Consequently, the description of such a poise of the head can best be linked to the discussion of either the hands or the legs.

### 4.2 *The hands*

The position of the hands has not yet been properly dealt with in studies on English effigies. General distinctions have been made, but subtle differences have only been signalled in some isolated descriptions.<sup>346</sup> A whole survey of all the variations has never been given. Yet a detailed analysis of all possible positions of the hands can reveal much more about style and date than for instance the much discussed lengths of surcoats. Moreover, the variations in the position of the hands appear to be greater in number, often subtler, and frequently of more importance as a determining factor, than the variations in the position of the legs.

#### 4.2.1 *The west-country school. Mid-thirteenth century*

The oldest non-ecclesiastical effigy in the region of the West Country is that of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral, rather securely dated 1230-1240, and its stylistic connection with the statues on the west front of Wells Cathedral is well established <sup>347</sup> (pl 1-3). As for the attitude of the hands, the right hand of this effigy is placed flat on the hip in a rather languid way, while the left arm and hand are hidden under the shield on the left. It is the same languid movement that is conveyed by the slight inclination of the head towards the right. Now this placing of the right hand on the hip is not only seen on some statues on the façade of Wells Cathedral, <sup>348</sup> but also on some other knightly effigies in the same region. It is certainly not as strange and unique as is sometimes suggested. <sup>349</sup>

The effigy at Atherington (pl. 6), judging from the drapery, must be dated close to the Salisbury effigy. The right arm is gone, but to judge from the imprint the right hand must have rested on the upper part of the right hip near the sword-belt.

The oldest effigy at Wareham (pl. 16), of Purbeck marble, has been described as holding the hilt and pommel of the sword with the right hand and as sheathing the sword. <sup>350</sup> This seems highly improbable to me. There is no sword-belt and the scabbard cannot have been worn in this place. The right hand could have held the bare sword, in which case it might be compared with an effigy at Great Haseley (I (pl. 45)), but then the term "sheathing" is out of place. In my opinion the right hand is just resting on the upper part of the right hip and holding no sword at all. This would show direct influence of West-Country masons on Purbeck marblers of Corfe and London, which is not exceptional, as will be shown below.

A position of the right hand closely comparable to that on the Salisbury effigy is seen on a knightly effigy at Tickenham (I; pl. 5), probably of a somewhat later date to judge by the more agitated folds of the surcoat. Here, too, the right hand is seen lying loosely on the right hip fingering the folds of the surcoat. There is also the corresponding languid poise of the head.

Another group of West-Country effigies is formed by those knightly effigies that show the right hand placed flat on the shield. In the cases of Shepton Mallet (I) and Seaborough (pls 4 + 8) the placing of the right hand is practically identical with

the placing of it on the right hip as on the Salisbury effigy. It is the same flat, stretched-out hand with long fingers lying downwards without any twisting of the joints. The difference is only one of place, and the expression attained is completely the same, and for the Shepton Mallet effigy there is again the same, though slighter, inclination of the head.

A somewhat different placing of the right hand is seen at Bitton,<sup>351</sup> Bristol (I) and Iddesleigh (pl. 7), and also on two effigies in nearby Wales, at Lawrenny and Tintern.<sup>352</sup> Here the right forearm is at right angles to the upper arm and the right hand is placed on the edge of the shield. It is the same soft and flat placing of a rather long hand, but the hand itself is more worked out and the languid expression is absent. Characteristically enough the head has attained a strictly frontal position. There seems to be a tendency towards more action.

There is a badly broken Purbeck marble effigy in the east of England, at Mautby, Norfolk, where the right hand may have rested on the shield (pl. 54). As far as can now be made out, the bare fingers of the right hand, its mail mitten hanging loose, may just have touched the edge of the shield. Yet in general outlook it is quite a different effigy from the ones discussed here. It is probably of a date somewhere in the third quarter of the century.

More closely comparable with the particular position of the right hand as seen on the Salisbury effigy is the placing of the right arm along the right side of the body holding nothing at all, just lying there on the slab. This posture can be seen, though with some difficulty now, on the second effigy at Shepton Mallet and more clearly on some effigies in Ireland.<sup>353</sup> The general languid expression is the same, and the difference between the position of the right hand on the hip or alongside, seems to be of minor importance.

The position of the right hand—the left hand remains invariably hidden under the shield—as described so far is conspicuously different from the placing of the right hand flat on the breast as seen on a close group of London effigies as discussed on pages 86-88.

It is the actual difference in the placing of the arms and hands, more than the resulting general impression, that is striking. This particular position of the hands is one of the characteristics that enable one to speak of a homogeneous group, which is regionally defined and may have stretched in time from the 1230s to not later than c1250.

Three other effigies in the West-Country region need attention here.

First there is the freestone effigy of a lady at Welsh Bicknor showing clear Wells influence in several aspects.<sup>354</sup> (pl. 142). The left hand is on the breast fingering a cord and the right hand is holding up the folds of the mantle on the stomach with a peculiar twist to the right wrist that reminds one of the Wells statues. On the whole it is an oft-recurring attitude for 13th century effigies of ladies, as we shall see later (pages 101-102).

Then there is the effigy of a civilian at Bristol (pl. 177). Here we see the right hand flat on the breast and the left hand holding up the folds of the mantle at the left side. The attitude is different from that shown at Welsh Bicknor in so far as the hand is not really holding the cord of the mantle. It is also different from the attitude seen on several knightly effigies to be discussed later (pages 86-88).

The expression of the right hand is of another nature, very stiff and almost flush with the breast. Something like it is seen on an even later effigy of a civilian at Compton Martin (pl. 176), where it is the left hand that is laid on the breast in the same stiff and flat manner, while the right hand is holding a sword along the right side of the body.

#### 4.2.2 *The early sword-handling knightly effigies*

The effigies discussed in this section include only those that show the right hand on the hilt or the pommel of the sword and the left hand holding the scabbard lower down, even if this hand is not always actually depicted. Excluded therefore are those effigies that show the naked sword wholly drawn out of the scabbard, held upwards or downwards over or alongside the body. Though sword-handling in the literal sense of the word, the latter group will fit better into the group of effigies to be discussed later (pages 90-92).

Up to the 1950s the sword-handling type of effigy, as defined here, was thought to have been invented by the Purbeck marblers of the London and Corfe workshops. Stone suggested that the type was invented by the West-Country school of freestone masons.<sup>355</sup> Yet nobody has brought forward much evidence to prove his theories. According to Stone this particular feature is linked to that of the crossed legs, and as he has proved, briefly but con-

vincingly, that the crossed-legs feature was created in the West, the sword-handling attitude is just mentioned as a corollary. A thorough investigation including a whole survey of all the smaller differences in the attitude of the hands has never hitherto been done. Having attempted this myself, I found the matter of the introduction of the sword-handling attitude rather complicated.

On the oldest effigy at Abbey Dore (pl. 13) we see that the right hand of the effigy is laid flat over the pommel and the hilt of the sword, while the left hand shows the same flat position downwards on the scabbard. This stretched-out, flat placing of the right hand reminds one of the rendering of the right hand on the earlier knightly effigies in this region. Something similar is seen on the effigy at Bridport, yet this effigy seems to have been so much recut as to have hardly any archaeological value.<sup>356</sup> Another instance is a knightly effigy at Worcester (I; pl. 14)). The fingertips are slightly bent downwards, a first, though hardly apparent, indication of gripping; yet on the whole it is the same flat and soft position of the right hand, with the left hand on the scabbard, as at Abbey Dore.

The feature here described should be differentiated from the clearly sword-sheathing act as seen on some much later effigies.<sup>357</sup> It is rather to be taken as a further development of the flat positions of the right hand as described before (page 79).

The earliest effigy in which a real act of gripping seems to have been attempted is found at Shrewsbury (I; pl. 15)—the right hand is almost gone. The effigy belongs to the same Wells tradition of sculpture and is of approximately the same date as the effigy at Worcester.<sup>358</sup>

It is indeed very tempting to see a logical development from the effigy at Salisbury (I), via Shepton Mallet (I) and Iddesleigh, towards Abbey Dore (I), Worcester (I) and Shrewsbury (I), leading towards a sword-handling attitude, which would then have been introduced in the West about 1250 at the earliest.

However, things may prove to be more complicated. There are other knightly effigies, of comparably the same date, but made of a different material and closely related to London works, which also show the sword-handling attitude: the most important of them are at Kirkstead, Blyth and Clavering and also at Rushton and Walkern <sup>359</sup> (pls 18, 20, 21, 23, 42).

As far as I can make out from the ruined state of the effigy at

Blyth, the right hand was holding the hilt of the sword just at the right side of the shield. The stiff frontal pose, combined with the canopy over the head resting on columns, and the feet resting on a somewhat sloping foothold, would be in agreement with a date of c1250, but the very elaborate decoration on the shield, running over on to the surcoat, as well as the easy pose of the feet, may point to a somewhat later date.

Clearly of a c1250 date is the effigy at Kirkstead. It is not made of Purbeck marble proper but of the similar Forest marble, and is found in the chapel that belonged to the Cistercian abbey there. Considering the development as sketched above it is indeed surprising to find this sword-gripping position of the right hand—the left hand has not been depicted—on a marble effigy of c1250. This date of c1250 has been questioned by Andersson, but not convincingly.<sup>360</sup> The typical stiff-leaf near the cushion I have described as conclusive proof of such an early date, to which may be added the stiff, frontal attitude of the whole figure.

The sword and scabbard rest in such an oblique way across the body—almost right across the body and not in a slant more or less corresponding to the legs, as on most effigies—that the hilt of the sword is found well to the right side of the body where the right hand can easily grasp it. A few inches of the blade can be seen between cross-guard and scabbard, as at Worcester (I). By putting the sword so obliquely, the awkward rendering of the right hand grasping the hilt and/or the pommel, as seen on most later effigies, has been avoided. Further it should be noted that this effigy has another feature in common with the one at Blyth, viz. the great helmet. This helmet, which is also seen at Walkern, is a feature linking these effigies with another group of effigies to be discussed later (see pages 90-92).

The cross-legged, Purbeck marble effigy at Clavering may be of a slightly later date. It is generally less angular than the Kirkstead figure. The right hand is seen resting over the hilt and pommel as at Abbey Dore (I) and Worcester (I) and the left hand is similarly seen lying flat on the scabbard. Just as at Kirkstead, the effigy at Walkern shows an awareness of the difficulties pertaining to the grasping of the hilt of the sword by the right hand when the sword remains at the left side of the body. Here the thumb is depicted over the hilt and the fingers are suggested to be beneath it, the back and palm of the hand remaining to the right side of the hilt. This is not a way, of course, to express a vigorous grasping of the sword,



and such a tentative solution does not occur very often. Something like it, however, is to be found on the freestone effigy at Rostherne (pl. 92) where this way of expressing the sword-handling attitude may be due to the inexperience of the carver.<sup>361</sup> The left hand is not depicted on the Rostherne effigy, while at Walkern the left hand is seen lying flat on the scabbard following its downward slope. The effigy at Walkern is of a later date than the one at Kirkstead, perhaps of the 1260s, to judge from the way the legs are crossed and the resulting slightly bent attitude of the whole body.<sup>362</sup> The sword-handling attitude agrees well with such a date and may be compared with similar solutions on West-Country effigies, at Mavesyn Ridware and Abbey Dore (II) discussed below.

A real development of the sword-handling attitude seen at Kirkstead is found on the cross-legged effigy at Rushton. It is made of Purbeck marble and can be dated somewhere in the middle of the third quarter of the century.<sup>363</sup> As for the manner in which the right hand is grasping the sword-hilt, this effigy may be taken as a link between the Kirkstead effigy and a whole group of late 13th century effigies. The sword-hilt is lying half-way between the right and left side of the body. At Kirkstead it is well to the right but on the later effigies it is always placed to the left of the middle. As a result, the twist at Rushton is more notable than at Kirkstead, but not as painfully acute as on several later effigies where the right hand goes too far to the left and makes an unnatural twist round the hilt, as on the freestone effigy at Rampton.

If we turn again to West-Country examples we will see that in spite of the dearth of those that can with certainty be dated to the third quarter of the century, some effigies can be adduced that show, with the earlier ones, a more convincing development of the sword-handling act than the isolated and rather individual examples discussed above. To the four examples at Abbey Dore (I), Bridport, Worcester and Shrewsbury, can further be added the cross-legged effigies at Abbey Dore (II), Cogenhoe and Draycott-le-Moors, and the straight-legged one at Mavesyn Ridware (pls 19, 24-26).

The second effigy at Abbey Dore shows an individual solution of the problems concerning the sword-gripping act. The left hand again is not depicted and the back of the right hand is towards the body, while the hilt is lying between the fingers against the palm of the hand. This solution of the sword-handling attitude may be compared with the one shown on the effigy at Walkern, where we

see the same awareness of the problems involved in the expression of such an attitude. But the effigy shows a more advanced state in sculpturing technique, especially in the freer treatment of the right arm. A date at the end of the third quarter of the century would be justifiable.

Of the same nature is the sword-handling attitude seen on an effigy at Mavesyn Ridware. The thumb is depicted as beneath the hilt, whereas at least some of the fingers are given as upon it. Although restored in several places, the attitude of the hands shows a fingering rather than a gripping of the sword. The effigy may well date from the earlier part of the third quarter of the century.

Between these two effigies may perhaps be put the effigy of the knight at Draycott-le-Moors. Its right hand is loosely and quietly holding the pommel placed well to the right side of the body to make the grasping easier. The right elbow is sticking out from the body as at Walkern, but not as naturally and comfortably as at Abbey Dore (II).

The effigy at Cogenhoe shows the flat placing of the right hand over the hilt of the sword as in the earlier effigies in the western region and at Clavering. The left hand is seen lying on the scabbard with the fingers slightly bent over its edge. Some other additional details, notably the unique placing of the cushions, also point to a date before the end of the century. Although there has been an attempt to express more action, and although several details are more elaborate, the effigy on the whole is not a very successful work of sculpture. There is no real sense of attitude and no use is made of undercutting. Everything remains altogether stiff, arbitrary and clumsy.

A still later example of this flat placing of the right hand—the left is again only just placed over the scabbard—is seen on the effigy at Kingsdon (pl. 59). And further, what is left of the effigies at Curry Rivel (I; pl. 86) and Eltisley (I) may have shown a similar position of the right hand—the left hand at Curry Rivel is seen lying on the scabbard. Most of the other effigies, both of freestone and Purbeck marble showing the sword-handling attitude, belong to the end of the century and will consequently be dealt with in a later part of this chapter.

What emerges from the discussion so far is that the development of the sword-handling attitude cannot categorically be divided into

two groups, Purbeck marble and West-County freestone effigies. Neither can we definitely answer where this particular attitude was invented. Because of a slight majority of especially the earliest examples and the inconspicuousness of several later copies I am inclined to point to the West-County region, where the development seems to have been more gradual. The workshops under London influence seem to have tried out more individual solutions. Great variety of approach will be shown to be characteristic of the London and London-influenced workshops in the third quarter of the century.

#### 4.2.3 *The London workshops up to the late thirteenth century and their influence*

The unique Purbeck marble effigy of King John at Worcester (pl. 172), which has puzzled so many authors,<sup>364</sup> may be a very impressive royal figure, but does not seem to have influenced other monumental effigies. The attitude of the hands has been every individually represented. Near the waist the left and right hand are holding the sword-hilt and sceptre, following the posture of the body beneath.<sup>365</sup> The attributes themselves are not exceptional, but the way they are held does not occur anywhere else.

More important as far as the attitude of the hands is concerned is one of the oldest known effigies of non-ecclesiastical persons in England, the Purbeck marble effigy of a knight in London, Temple Church (IV; pl. 29), perhaps from the first quarter of the 13th century.<sup>366</sup> Although, owing to several restorations, its archaeological value is now small, and although many details cannot be relied upon any more, the position of the hands, and the legs, can hardly have been changed much.<sup>367</sup> The left hand and arm are hidden under the long shield, while the right hand is laid flat on the chest with the fingers pointing towards the head. Now this placing of the right hand on the chest appears to be a distinguishing mark for a whole group of effigies. It is seen on the effigies at Eastwick Hitchin, Lewes, London (Temple Church III & VI), Merevale, Stowe-Nine-Churches, Sullington and Twyford, and it may have been so with an effigy at Great Hasely (II) to judge from the imprint on the torso that remains (pls 27-37). Of the 10 effigies mentioned 7 are made of Purbeck marble and 2 of the closely similar Sussex marble (those in London, Temple Church (VI) and at Lewes).<sup>368</sup> The effigy at Merevale is made of a fine oolite. In

addition to the peculiar position of the right hand there are several other details which strike me as significant, all mainly due to the individuality of treatment and great workmanship. Next to the excellent depiction of the mail, the folds of the surcoat, and the strikingly individual heads—as far as they are preserved—it is especially the elegant attitude of the whole that makes these effigies stand out from many others. Although the attitude of the third effigy in London (Temple Church III), like that shown on the effigies at Merevale and Twyford, may still be rather frontal, there is also a new element. The way the legs are crossed is not a mere addition of something that was coming into vogue but has its repercussions in the representation of the rest of the body. The other effigies at once show a perfect, elegant and easy pose mainly through a slight deviation of the vertical plane of the body, remarkably so at Eastwick, London (Temple Church VI) and Stowe-Nine-Churches. It should be noted that all this has been achieved without making use of undercutting for the arms.

The impression given by all these effigies is one of rest, and even the crossing of the legs, which occurs on all the effigies except the oldest known in London (Temple Church IV), is used to strengthen such an impression. The term 'Composed Style' as formulated by Prior & Gardner<sup>369</sup> very well suits these effigies of not later than the third quarter of the century. It is an apt name for the easy way in which these figures are lying on their slabs, and too good not to be taken over.<sup>370</sup>

Among the more general characteristics the typical placing of the right hand may be taken as one outward sign of this coherent group of effigies. More tangible than this is the marble, the hard and difficult-to-work material of which they are made. Added to this is the fact that the places where these effigies can be seen are all within easy reach of the metropolis of London.<sup>371</sup> It is therefore justifiable to speak of one close group. Everything testifies to a highly developed style of an important school, the centre of which may well have been London itself.

One of the effigies was not made of marble, but of a fine oolite, viz. the knightly effigy at Merevale in the northern part of Warwickshire. Although located on one of the great roads to London, the distance from London may have been one of the reasons for the choice of a material found in the region itself. As far as style, and especially attitude, is concerned, this effigy certainly belongs

to the group discussed so far. It shows the same characteristic placing of the right hand on the chest, the same easy pose of the whole figure, together with the same individuality in treatment and great workmanship. The effigy once belonged to the great Cistercian Abbey at Merevale.<sup>372</sup> As regards the quality of the carving, it could be compared with the effigy at Lewes once belonging to the great Benedictine Abbey there.

There is a torso of a knightly effigy at Monkton Farleigh (III; pl. 38) of freestone, which may have also shown this characteristic placing of the right hand on the chest, to judge from the imprint remaining from the right arm and hand now cut away. Another effigy at the same place has a shield covering the trunk of the body above which the right hand is seen lying flat on the chest in the same way. An effigy similar to the latter is found at Old Sodbury (I). Yet in spite of the particular position of the right hand the last two effigies make quite a different impression, because of the presence of the shield covering the body<sup>373</sup> and the very flat carving technique. The placing of the right hand may be explained by influence from the east on the West Country regions. A curious intermediate effigy is the half-incised, half-carved effigy at Bitton.<sup>374</sup> The right hand is placed on the shield as at Iddesleigh and Shepton Mallet, but the difference is that the shield is covering the chest and the hand is laid on it in the London fashion.

Further there is a Purbeck marble effigy of a lady at Worcester (II; pl. 157), who has her right hand on her breast fingering the cord of her mantle. In spite of the general likeness in the tranquil attitude of the whole figure the action of the right hand is distinct from the one discussed above. We do not know what the left hand, lying at the side, was originally holding, but the right hand is in the opposite of the usual attitude on effigies of ladies, as it is the right and not the left hand that is fingering the cord of the mantle on the breast.<sup>375</sup>

The group of effigies discussed above, emanating from the London workshops of Purbeck marblers, can be considerably enlarged if we put aside the typical placing of the right hand as the distinguishing mark and take as the most characteristic features: 1) the individual treatment and high technical quality in general, and 2) the elegant, easy pose as expressed by a free and varying attitude of the hands in particular.

Three marble effigies of knights in London (Temple Church I, VII, VIII; pls 27+28) may be adduced. They show three different positions of the hands. One has both hands laid flat and crossed on the chest, a unique feature hardly seen elsewhere in England, but known on the Continent as an older attitude of prayer;<sup>376</sup> the second has the hands joined in the more usual attitude of prayer; and the third holds an unsheathed sword downwards along the right side of the body.

Effigies with their hands joined in prayer, very often seen on effigies of ladies and civilians, are practically all of the late 13th century; they will be dealt with below. However, a few of them can be dated much earlier, and the effigy in London (Temple Church VII) with its frontal attitude and its legs not yet crossed is one of them. It should not be forgotten that effigies with their hands in prayer were already a common phenomenon on the continent by the middle of the century.<sup>377</sup> In England this particular position of the hands was then still seen as exceptional and it suits the group discussed here, where several positions of the hands were being tried out.

Two other effigies of about the same time show the hands joined in prayer just above the shield that is covering the rest of the body: at Sandwich (pl. 43) and at Monkton Farleigh (II; pl. 41). Except for the two common aspects, the hands and shield, the two effigies are rather different from each other. The one at Sandwich has a canopy over the head, the one at Monkton Farleigh has not; the legs of the effigy at Monkton Farleigh are crossed and of the other are straight; the effigy at Monkton Farleigh is in low relief whereas the other has been cut in the round; and finally the one at Sandwich is made of Purbeck marble and the other is of freestone. The effigy at Monkton Farleigh has much in common with the other effigies preserved in this place, especially in the low-relief carving technique. In the praying position of the hands it shows the intermediate position between the typical effigies of the West Country region and those of the London workshops. As for the effigy at Sandwich, although some influence from France may perhaps be detected,<sup>378</sup> it is certainly not an absolutely foreign-looking effigy. The combination of several aspects may strike one as exceptional, but none of the aspects separately are unknown in England. Experimentation in all kinds of possibilities is a clear characteristic of the London workshops of effigy-makers of this period.

Further, there are two effigies of ladies, one at Wolferlow and one at Rand (pls 143+144), with their hands in prayer, which may perhaps be dated before the end of the century. Typically enough one of them, at Rand, has a very small shield placed on her stomach. Yet it is an indisputable fact that effigies with hands in prayer remain exceptional till the end of the 13th century.

The attitude with the right hand hanging down the right side of the body and holding an unsheathed sword downwards is not only seen on the marble effigy in London (Temple Church I), but also on the freestone effigies at Newton Solney, Compton Martin and Great Haseley (I) (pls 44, 45, 176). The effigy at Newton Solney may be compared with the London effigy in its frontal pose and in the excellent finishing touch of the crisp carving. The very flat and rather clumsy carving of the civilian effigy at Compton Martin, although showing the particular placing of the hands, is a provincial work far removed from the competence of the London carvers; there is no sense of attitude at all. The individuality in treatment at Great Haseley (I), e.g. in the unsheathed sword following the oblique line of the crossed right leg and in the freer technique of undercutting applied to the protruding right arm, would again point to London.

The last mentioned effigies could strictly be called 'sword-handling'. Yet the exceptional manner in which they are handling their swords is quite different from the very common attitude for which I want to reserve this definition. The same is true of that small group of knightly effigies that are holding their unsheathed swords upwards along the right side of the body, an attitude often combined with a shield covering the chest and a great helmet hiding the head completely, and all this often carved in low relief. The combination of these elements may represent an old, separate custom, in origin probably connected with the Purbeck marble workshops of Corfe and London, which persisted even up to the beginning of the 14th century.<sup>379</sup> In its pure form this type of effigy is seen at Thruxton (pl. 46). We have here a strictly frontal effigy, made of Purbeck marble, in low relief, without any indication of normal attitude and hardly any attention to rounded forms, with the result that at least two thirds of the effigy consists of a shield covering the body. The right hand holds an unsheathed sword upwards, its point lying on the slab next to the great helmet. Something very similar is seen on the small effigy at Hatfield (pl. 48), probably

also made of Purbeck marble, but there the head may have been covered by a mail coif.

Two effigies at Furness (pl. 49), of local blue limestone, belong to the same type. Yet the definite turning of the whole body and the head—they are represented in a three-quarter view—combined with the crossed legs, points to a later date. The same is true of the much weathered effigy at Faulkbourne (pl. 47). Later still, at the end of the century, or even later, is a group of effigies in County Durham with the same characteristics<sup>380</sup> (pls 108+109). The attitude here, however, in spite of the frontal shield and the great helmet, is freely rendered. There is some deviation of the vertical plane of the body corresponding to the lines of the crossed legs. The actual placing of the unsheathed sword supports this freer attitude: it is no longer held stiffly upwards along the right side, but from about the middle of the body below the shield, the point resting to the right side of the head.

The two elements causing the stiff and formalistic attitude in this type of effigy, the frontal shield and the great helmet, can also be seen, separately or combined, on some more effigies described as belonging to other distinct groups. Thus both elements occur on the Purbeck marble effigy at Blyth. The closed helmet alone is seen on the Purbeck marble effigies at Kirkstead, Twyford and Walkern and on the freestone effigy at Seaborough. It is mainly the attitude of the hands and/or the legs that is responsible for grouping these effigies with others and the reader is referred to the relevant descriptions elsewhere. The shield alone, covering the chest, is seen at Monkton Farleigh (I & II), Old Sodbury (I) and Sandwich. These effigies, too, are described with other types. What is left of an effigy at Alkerton also seems to show a flat shield covering the chest, while the right arm seems to lie along the shield and the headgear can no longer be distinguished.<sup>381</sup>

A naked sword held upwards may have been depicted on the small effigy at Long Wittenham (pl. 51), which would then belong to the type described above. The details, however are too worn to justify conclusions. Further there is no shield and no great helmet, and the attitude of the legs, body, head and hands is so freely rendered as certainly to point at a later date.

The freestone effigy at Great Malvern is holding up a kind of axe, while a round shield is held by the left hand and is covering part of the body only. These unique details and the frontal attitude



point to an early date. Although still flat, the relief is higher than at Hatfield and Thrupton and consequently the legs and the slightly protruding arm have a more voluminous character. If the effigies at Hatfield and Thrupton may be dated well before the middle of the century, this unique effigy at Great Malvern—the relief-like nature reminds one of the effigies with even shallower reliefs at Old Sodbury (I), Monkton Farleigh (I & II) and Bitton—may perhaps be dated about the middle of the century.

It will be clear that this intermediate type is markedly different from the 'Composed London Style' effigies. Attention to the expression of an easy posture is practically absent and the stiff, frontal attitude, or rather the absence of attitude, combines with the formalized element of armour to produce an effigy in which the military appearance is emphasized instead of the restfulness and composure of a figure lying down.

Still one or two effigies of the 'Composed London Style' remain to be discussed, one of them, the knightly effigy at Pershore, being really a focus of the divergent stylistic lines in 13th century effigy sculpture in England (pl. 52). This effigy is made of yellow Cotswold stone and belongs to the great Benedictine abbey there. It shows the unique feature of the right hand holding a horn off the right hip, and the left hand resting gently on the pommel of the sword. This peculiar position of the hands, other unique details such as the presence of the leather garment between surcoat and mail and the unbuttoned chin piece of the mail coif, and also the delicate carving of the folds of the surcoat and the mail gloves, make this effigy one of the most interesting and pleasing English sculptures of the third quarter of the century. This pleasing aspect is strengthened by the easy pose in which the knight is shown lying on his slab. The free rendering of the right arm with the completely mastered technique of undercutting is remarkable. The very slight turn of head, shoulders and hips and the easy bendings of arm, knees and legs give to this effigy a great naturalness and make it, I think, a great work of art, which deserves more attention than it has been given so far. It ranks with, or perhaps above, such well known effigies as are found in London (Temple Church), Dorchester or Gloucester.

The effigy of Pershore is discussed by several authors in connection with the development of the Wells style, whereas others stress the

similarity with the London-Lincoln style expressed in the folds of the drapery.<sup>382</sup> The only argument for the connection with the Wells style seems to be the freestone of which the effigy is made. The similarity in drapery style between this figure and the figures on the Lincoln Judgement porch can indeed be accepted, though only in a very general way. To me the argument of attitude seems to be more important. The graceful bendings of the joints of the limbs, especially on the right arm, where the transitions of shoulder, elbow and wrist are made by softly flowing, rounded lines, the general naturalness, i.e. the 'Composed Style', all these things in combination with the individuality in overall treatment and the high technical quality of the carving, make it a very important effigy in the third quarter of the century. Made of a West-Country freestone this effigy is another proof of the fluctuating boundaries between the West-Country and London group of effigies. And though it is difficult to find examples with which it may broadly be compared, the period in which it was made seems easier to define: a date of not later than 1280 can easily be accepted.<sup>383</sup>

One more effigy may be mentioned in connection with the prevailing London influence in the third quarter of the century, viz. the knightly effigy at Sotherton (pl. 53). The right arm hangs loosely apart along the right side of the body and the hand holds nothing at all. The left hand grasps the scabbard firmly just below the hilt. The legs are straight but there is a slight bending of the knees. The head, too, shows this slight poise so typical of the better examples of this period. The whole attitude is, indeed not without ease. A date in the third quarter of the century, taking other details into account, seems justifiable.

What emerges from what we have seen so far is, in the first place, an important group of great, individual effigies, made of Purbeck marble and having the right hand placed flat on the chest with the fingers pointing towards the chin, almost certainly to be connected with a London workshop. The group can be set against the West-Country group of effigies discussed in the former part of this chapter. In the West-Country group a development towards the sword-handling attitude of the knight effigy is well discernible, even though examples of the third quarter of the century prove to be rather scarce. For this period it seems that the West-Country school had temporarily receded and the lead appears clearly to have

been taken over by the 'Composed London Style', where the general aim is not to represent knights in action but figures in a restful, easy and natural recumbent pose. This general attitude was also present, in a primitive but dignified way, on the earliest West-Country effigies, as on a knight at Salisbury (I), although there it was quickly losing ground to the new idea of sword-handling liveliness. Such an elegant court style would, of course, have suited the sculptors in the neighbourhood of the court much better. Both groups influenced each other greatly. In the earlier stages the influence may mainly have been from the West Country on the London workshops, whereas in the third quarter of the century the greater activity of the London workshops and their greater inventiveness in compositions seem to have influenced the West-Country works.

Instead of the steady development seen in the West Country, other effigies to be connected with the London workshops displayed a great variety of attitudes, and even included some sword-handling knights. This ever-increasing variety, however, seems to be somewhat later in date than the more typical London group and certainly later than the earlier stages of the development in the West. The separate small group of effigies with a naked sword held upwards, a shield covering the chest, and a great helmet hiding the face, was found to have a place in this region and period as well. Yet retaining the severe military bearing for a very small group of effigies with no lively sculptural values and practically always refraining from the actual sword-handling attitude itself, the London effigy makers and their followers mainly stuck to a more restful, composed style, the emphasis being on composure and easiness.

The ease with which all kinds of solutions were applied to the attitude of the hands constitutes one reason, I think, why the boundaries between the London region and the West Country fluctuated so much in the third quarter of the century, as they were to do again at the end of the century. Except for a close group of Purbeck marble London effigies in the third quarter of the century—mentioned before as distinct from the earlier West-Country group—it is impossible in this period to define distinct schools or workshops. If classifications have to be made, this should be done rather according to period than to exact stylistic differences. The third quarter of the century may be said to have been mainly dominated by a general 'Composed London Style', which differs markedly from

the two stock types dominating the end of the century, as can be seen further on.

#### 4.2.4 *The later sword-handling type of knightly effigy*

Knightly effigies of the late 13th century mostly show the sword-handling attitude: the left hand is holding the scabbard and the right hand is grasping the hilt of the sword. About 60% of all late 13th century knightly effigies show this attitude of the arms and hands, while the remainder mostly have the hands joined in prayer, as will be discussed in the next part of this chapter (pages 99 ff.). Other positions of the hands in this period are rare. For the late 13th century the sword-handling type is apparently not confined to a certain area, nor to a certain material. It occurs all over the country and both Purbeck marble and freestone effigies have it.

There are, of course, individual differences in the way the hands are holding the scabbard and the sword. These differences however, are mostly of minor importance. It is not the differences that strike us as in the preceding period with its great individual effigies, but it is the sameness in attitude that is foremost; it is a period of stock types. In only a few cases, I think, is it possible to distinguish a sword-sheathing attitude from the more common sword-drawing attitude.<sup>384</sup> The unequivocal expression of sheathing the sword is seen at Danbury (I; pl. 55),<sup>385</sup> and in London (Southwark Cathedral and Temple Church II; pls 28+125). It is clearly a sophisticated design. The effigy in Southwark Cathedral combines this attitude of the hands with a face in agony, its mouth half open, as if expressing the last act of the knight before going to his eternal rest. But as the face seems to have been recut,<sup>386</sup> we cannot at all be sure if such was the original expression. As for Danbury (I) and London (Temple Church II) the act of sheathing is clearly differentiated—one might say deliberately—from the sword-drawing attitude as shown on the effigies accompanying them, i.e. Danbury (II; pl. 56) and London (Temple Church V; pl. 98).

The act of sword-drawing on the Danbury (II) and Temple Church (V) effigies is attained and skilfully stressed by a peculiar twist of the right wrist: the right hand coming from the right passes beneath the pommel, is twisted there so as to enable the fingers to grip the hilt from the left. This explicit manner of expressing a sword-drawing act appears to be rather common in this period. For the two effigies just mentioned the action and exertion involved

are well expressed by this twist. The high quality of the carving prevents this particular twist from becoming a mere artificial action as on most other similar effigies, on which the line running from the forearm to the back of the hand becomes unnaturally long. On earlier sword-drawing knightly effigies, as at Kirkstead and Rushton (see above, pp. 84-85) such a twist of the right wrist was avoided by putting the sword and the scabbard more obliquely across the body. What connects these two earlier effigies at Kirkstead and Rushton, and the later two, at Danbury (II) and London (V), is that all four of them can be taken as products of London workshops.<sup>387</sup>

Now it is remarkable that all sword-handling knightly effigies of Purbeck marble in the late 13th century show the peculiar detail of the right hand as described for the two effigies at Danbury (II) and London (Temple Church V). But with these late 13th century effigies this peculiar twist of the right wrist has become a far more artificial and mannered trick than at Danbury and London, due to a great extent to the representation of the seams of the mail running from shoulder to wrist instead of round the arm. The lines of the mail stress the already exaggerated length between lower arm and back of the hand, and thus strengthen the optical effect of exertion. Such effigies are found at Ashendon, Berwick St John, Castle Ashby, Hurstpierpont, Penshurst, Salisbury (II), Welton, Winchelsea (I) and in a less striking but still discernible form at Horton and Wareham (II) (pls 61-70). Several of these effigies have sometimes been described as of poor workmanship and consequently coming from a centre other than London, perhaps from Corfe itself, where the Purbeck marble quarries were situated and where some rough carving was done on the spot. Moreover, it is practically certain that the good carvers from Corfe had by now emigrated to London.<sup>388</sup> The inexperienced way of carving is not only seen in the awkward and rather unnatural way in which the right hand is grasping the sword. It is also seen in the overall flat character with hardly any undercutting, the lack of feeling for the attitude of the body and in the monotonous way the folds have been carved. These latter aspects are not only seen on sword handling knightly effigies, but also on Purbeck marble effigies of ladies and other civilians at Ash, Dartmouth, Droxford, Plymouth, Sopley (I & II), and Winchelsea (II and III) <sup>389</sup> (pls 71-76). The same blocklike character is present on all of them. The sculpturing technique seems to have been restrained by the hardness of the material. Yet I

think that the formalized character and the surface finish on some of them may be said to have a charm of their own. This can be said not only of Castle Ashby and Droxford (a lady),<sup>390</sup> but also of the three effigies at Winchelsea, which are certainly well finished products. In all the knightly effigies the particular twist of the right wrist may be taken as a formalized but convincing detail which well expresses the sword-drawing act. This feature seems to have become a convention leaving far behind both the individual solutions and the natural representations of the earlier London works. It is an aspect that marks off these effigies as belonging to an expressive stock type. It is also an aspect that points to the end of the century or later.

Though the Purbeck marble effigies just described may well be taken as a separate group dating to the end of the century, it is not true that the peculiar twist of the right wrist is only seen on them. Several effigies made of freestone or wood also have it. Indeed the earliest effigy on which such an obvious twist may have been present is the effigy at Shrewsbury (I), though too much of the right arm has gone to allow definite conclusions. A somewhat later example is found at Rampton (pl. 22), made of freestone and sometimes described as made under London influence.<sup>391</sup> The vigour of the sword-drawing act is here stressed not only by the twist of the right wrist but also by the deep and strong vertical folds of the surcoat falling on to the edge of the slab. The right elbow, too, completely undercut and sticking out freely, contributes to this impression. The legs are straight: it was not yet taken for granted that crossed legs, which were well known by this time, could play a prominent role in expressing vigorous action supplementing the vigorous act of drawing a sword. This effigy expresses more vigour than the cross-legged, sword-handling, Purbeck marble knight at Rushton previously described, though both may well date to the same period, the end of the third quarter of the century. Other examples of sword-drawing knights dating to the end of the century and showing this particular expressiveness in the right wrist are found at Bristol (II & III), Burton Coggles, Chaddesleigh Corbett, Down Ampney, Draycot Cerne, Goxhill, Nettlecombe, Pitchford, Porlock, Sefton and Tilton (pls 78-80, 88-90).

The over-expressiveness of the sword-drawing act seen on the effigy at Dorchester (pl. 97) fits in with the type of knightly effigies that show great expressiveness in the sword-drawing act. On the

effigy at Dorchester this is due as much to the gripping act of the right hand as to the treatment of both arms. They are treated as separate sculptural entities, independent from the body, completely undercut, and as regards the right elbow not only sticking outwards but also upwards from the body. This attitude of the arms—as that of the legs, see below pages 114-115—should be compared with that seen on the effigies at Bristol (II), Danbury (II), Gloucester (I), London (Temple Church II & V) and Tilton (pls 28, 56, 96, 98, 101). The mannered affectation attained on this effigy at Dorchester would point, in my opinion, to a late date, somewhere at the end of the century.

Further, there are some freestone effigies on which, although the right hand is holding the sword, this attitude cannot be described as sword-drawing, but merely as 'sword-handling'. Any definite expression is absent. Such effigies, however, are far fewer in number, and can be found at Bishop's Cleeve (pl. 81), Bishop's Frome and Inkpen. With several other effigies it is no longer possible to decide how the right hand was grasping the hilt of the sword. A few very clumsy solutions of the problem, can be seen at Brympton d'Evercy and Shrewsbury (II), the former certainly for a great part due to overcutting. On the effigy at Stock Gaylard (pl. 84) the right hand seems to hover over the pommel, so that its purpose remains vague.

It may be said that an overall martial attitude is better expressed by those effigies that can be described as sword-drawing,—or, for that matter, as sword-sheathing—than by those that can only be defined as sword-handling. However, criteria for making a distinction between a quiet and a more vigorous martial attitude would be far too arbitrary to be of any value. The sword-handling attitude is not always expressive enough in this respect and the overall impression of a general stock-type effigy does not allow such a distinction to be made. Two further aspects point in the same direction. The showing of the blade for one or two centimetres occurs on practically all examples (exceptions are found at Abbey Dore (II) and Rostherne; pl. 92) even where one would not expect it, as for instance on the mostly earlier effigies where no grasping is indicated at all. Then there is the left hand on the scabbard. Sometimes it is not shown, being hidden by the shield, but mostly it is shown lying just flat over the scabbard. Holding the scabbard tightly, with fingers bent round it, might normally be expected on those effi-

gies in which a definite action is otherwise expressed. Yet it occurs on only few examples; Danbury (I & II), Goxhill (pl. 90), London (Temple Church II & V), Rampton, Salisbury (II) and Sefton (pl. 93), i.e. on qualitatively better or on very late effigies. For effigies to be dated c1300 or early 14th century such inconsistent aspects in the sword-handling act seem to occur far less.<sup>392</sup> A distinction between a quiet and a more vigorous martial attitude, as far as the attitude of the hands is concerned, is generally not relevant. The problem will recur in the chapter dealing with the position of the legs.

#### 4.2.5 *Effigies with their hands joined in prayer. Some other, divergent attitudes*

More than half of all the effigies of the last two decades of the 13th century show their hands joined together on the chest in the well known attitude of prayer. We will include those effigies that have their hands in a similar position but show something held between the hands as well, the exact nature of which will be discussed in due course. The majority of the effigies with the praying attitude of the hands is formed by effigies of ladies and civilians: 29 out of 45 effigies of ladies show this attitude, and 16 out of 27 effigies of civilians.<sup>393</sup>

This attitude of prayer is not at all common before c1280. It does not occur on effigies to be dated before c1250, while only very few examples could be found for the third quarter of the century. All of them have been mentioned before.<sup>394</sup> The situation changed quickly with the increasing number of effigies of ladies and civilians in the last years of the century, while the same attitude on knightly effigies seems to have followed more slowly.

As for knightly effigies a few things should be noted. At the end of the century the attitude of prayer occurs oftener and perhaps earlier in Northern England than elsewhere. Sword-handling knights hardly occur here. We see the attitude of prayer on the effigies at Bulmer, Coverham and Pickhill in Yorkshire and at Gonalston and Laxton in Nottinghamshire (pls 104-106). At about c1300 and in the early 14th century the number of praying effigies in these districts is also higher than elsewhere. The attitude is seen in the effigies at Rippingale and at West Tanfield (pls 110+111). These two very similar effigies have sometimes been described as of the late 13th century, but the deliberate deviation of the vertical



plane of the body and the unnatural poise of the head seems to me to point to a later fashion.<sup>395</sup> In the South we really have to wait for the effigies in Westminster Abbey (I & III; pls 124+136) before we see this unequivocal and conventional attitude of prayer. This does not mean that the attitude is totally absent here. When it occurs it is in combination with other conspicuous aspects. Most distinct is the small size of most of the effigies: at Bottesford, East Tuddenham, Horstead Keynes, Little Easton, Netley, Stockerston, Tenbury and Wickhampton (pls 114-121). Not only are these effigies smaller than life-size, but four of them do not show the normal cross-legged position (at East Tuddenham, Little Easton, Stockerston and Wickhampton) and, equally strikingly, where the hands have been preserved intact, these hands are seen to hold a heart. The combination of straight legs with small size might be explained by the fact that, technically speaking, a cross-legged position on a small effigy tends to give a rather intricate and fussy appearance. The preference for the combination of small size, heart held between praying hands and straight legs is, in my opinion, noteworthy. The three aspects are, of course, not mutually exclusive but the satisfactory solution shown by the combination of these three aspects, or only the first two for that matter, is clear enough. Undercutting is hardly made use of, and for this kind of attitude of the hands it plays an altogether minor role. With these effigies the absence of any expression of a naturally recumbent attitude is not felt to be hard or insensitive. The details themselves sufficed to produce a satisfactory monument. These effigies seem to form a separate little group different from the general sword-handling type and from the later praying type. Three other effigies with their hands joined in prayer can be found in the South, anterior to the effigy of Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey: at Little Horkesley (I; pl. 124), Westminster Abbey (II: William de Valence; pl. 122) and Woodford. The Crouchback effigy and the wooden one at Woodford are found near effigies of ladies in which this praying position of the hands is the normal attitude, and by which they may have been influenced. The effigy of William de Valence is a clear French product. Several aspects can prove this.<sup>396</sup>

For effigies of ladies and civilians the praying attitude seems to have been felt as the most appropriate one, soon surpassing other solutions, even that most feminine attitude of one hand resting on the chest fingering the cord of the mantle. The prevalence of the

praying attitude on these effigies may even have had its impact on knightly effigies as hinted at above. It should be noted that an object held between the hands is not always a heart: at Axminster (pl. 148) and Membury the ladies are holding a kind of reliquary with the Virgin and Child, at Gonalston (pl. 152) it is what has been described as an 'ungentarium',<sup>397</sup> while at Denham and Kirkleatham (pls 141+151) the heart form is not very clear. At Egginton (pl. 175) it may either be a small shield or a big heart. On the other hand a very clear heart is shown on an effigy of a civilian at Hatford (pl. 181). With the effigies of ladies and civilians there is no correlation at all between smaller size and heart held between the hands: all smaller effigies, at Curry Rivel (II, III & IV; pl. 179). Newton by Toft (I & II) and Wickhampton (pl. 155), are simply praying and nothing is held between the hands.

The question whether small effigies and effigies having a heart between their hands refer to heart burials cannot be definitely answered. As the custom of having heart burials seems to have been rather common in the 13th century,<sup>398</sup> such effigies, especially when there is a combination of the two features, may refer to this kind of burial. On the other hand, as said above, the combination may well have been felt as a satisfactory solution without any further connotations. Further it should be noted that small effigies never refer to children, even when smaller effigies are found next to larger ones of the same date, as for instance at Curry Rivel. There are even small effigies of knights in complete armour.<sup>399</sup> More conclusive, however, are the different lengths of effigies, ranging from about 60 cm (e.g. at Long Wittenham) through all kinds of intermediate stages (e.g. at Foy, 1.01m; Wilton, 1.20m; Gloucester II, 1.54m; East Tuddenham, 1.62m) to the normal life-size and even to over-life-size ones. The size of effigies was, in my opinion, more dependent on economic causes. Just as over-life-size effigies may refer to the would-be importance of the persons commemorated, small effigies may commemorate persons that were less rich or had a humbler opinion of themselves.

To conclude, I want to stress the later occurrence of the praying position of the hands: the ratio between this attitude and others is about the same for effigies of c1300 as for the preceding years, while it is gaining ground quickly in the first decades of the 14th century, especially on knightly effigies,<sup>400</sup> and soon becoming the ubiquitous attitude of the hands for all funerary effigies.

A second important attitude for effigies of ladies is the attitude with the left hand on the breast fingering the cord of the mantle or holding some kind of brooch or clasp, and with the right hand along the right side gathering up the folds of the mantle.<sup>401</sup> This attitude occurs on twelve 13th-century effigies of ladies, while three more have the same attitude of the hands in a reversed position. Attention has already been drawn to the early effigy at Worcester (II) where it is the right hand that is laid on the breast. And this is not the only one: two later examples are found at Stocklinch and Tilton <sup>402</sup> (pl. 169). The attitude with the left hand on the breast is not necessarily later, as it occurs on the earlier effigies at Welsh Bicknor and Romsey as well. The difference seems to be more a matter of choice. The position of a hand on the breast, whether it is the left or the right, is seen on several statues on the Wells front, while on the Continent, too, it occurs very often. It is seen on several effigies of Kings and Queens in the church of St. Denis near Paris,<sup>403</sup> where it also seems to be a matter of choice whether it is the left or the right hand that is shown on the breast.

When the hand that is not on the breast is not gathering up the folds of the mantle, it may lie flat on the stomach (Foy I & II and Worcester II), or simply alongside the body (Stocklinch and Tilton II). At Bobbington the right hand is holding a shield on a cord and the double effigy at Winterbourne Bassett shows the couple's right hands clasped together (pl. 185). The rather exceptional attitude on the effigies at Bobbington and Winterbourne Bassett may be an indication of a rather late date. Some diversity in the attitude of the hands of ladies and civilians, besides the increasingly general attitude of prayer, seems to have been in favour about 1300.<sup>404</sup> The graceful attitude of one hand on the breast fingering the cord of the mantle and the right hand gathering up the folds of the mantle is rarely seen on effigies of the early 14th century. This attitude lends a striking elegance to the whole female figure and as such it seems to represent a typically 13th century pose.

A few effigies show other, divergent attitudes of the hands. The hands of a small Purbeck marble effigy of a civilian at Wilton are crossed on the breast in the older attitude of prayer,<sup>405</sup> while on the effigy of civilian at Llangerron <sup>406</sup> (pl. 182) the hands are crossed lower down in a very crude and primitive way. The knightly effigy

at Mamble <sup>407</sup> (pl. 94) shows both hands hovering over the hips and one wonders what they originally may have held. The attitude as it is now is very strange and may perhaps be compared with that shown at Pershore, where the right hand is holding a horn. Just as at Pershore the arms are well undercut, lending a general easiness to the effigy. The exceptionality of this effigy is also clear from the unique helmet the figure is wearing. The attitude of the hands clasping a helmet on the chest at Trentham <sup>408</sup> is an anomaly; the helmet depicted as half buried in the chest is very strange indeed and would certainly point to a late date. The very personal attitude of the hands on the effigy of King Henry III <sup>409</sup> in Westminster Abbey—the hands were formerly holding a sceptre and another attribute—is something one may expect and hardly needs comment. Yet both here and on the effigy of King John in Worcester Cathedral (pls 172+173) the attitude of the hands is remarkable in as far as it shows an individual solution for a royal attitude, which can be favourably compared with similar examples on the Continent, where the attitude of the hands on royal effigies is often, in spite of exceptions, more or less stereotyped. <sup>410</sup>

### 4.3. *The legs*

#### 4.3.1 *Introduction*

In this chapter, all the effigies of ladies and other civilians, and one seventh of the knightly effigies, have straight legs; I shall therefore begin with a discussion of this feature.

The remainder of the knightly effigies have crossed legs, a striking feature which, except for a few examples in Spain, is unique. It seems to me important to establish the chronological development of this feature before offering any theoretical explanation; previous discussions of origin and meaning have been unsatisfactory because they lacked a firm chronological basis.

#### 4.3.2 *The straight-legged attitude*

Effigies of ladies and other civilians showing the cross-legged attitude do exist, but no example of them can be given for the 13th century in England. There are e.g. three lady effigies at Cashel, Ireland, lately dated c1300 <sup>411</sup> and a lady effigy at Howden Yorks. <sup>412</sup> of the early 14th century. The first civilians showing this attitude are also of the beginning of the 14th century. <sup>413</sup>

As far as 13th century lady effigies in England are concerned, the legs of these effigies are invariable hidden by a long gown that reaches at least to the feet and sometimes even cover the feet completely. The legs beneath the gown are usually not indicated at all and the lower part of such effigies merely consists of the folds of the garments. Consequently, the attitude on them is not expressed by a special position of the legs. The effigy at Droxford (pl. 73) is a good example of this type, the stiffness of the lower part being extra stressed by the apparent hardness of the material.

Yet sometimes a more or less natural way of lying down is indicated by the fall of the folds. The reputedly better effigies, often of the later 13th century, as at Chichester and Westminster (Lady Aveline), and to a lesser extent at Romsey and Worcester (this effigy of c1240), show this (pls 134, 135, 157, 158). The legs of the effigies at Axminster, Seagry and Wolferlow (pls 147, 148, 150) can be made out beneath the folds of the garments and even the knees are just indicated, but these indications can hardly be said to relieve the stiffness of the whole.

The tips of the shoes are practically always seen jutting out from under the gown, or clearly indicated beneath the end folds of the garment. The feet rest against the common animal or against another foot support. As only the tips are to be seen, not much can be said about the form of the feet and shoes or of their placing. The transition from feet to support or the pressure of the feet upon the support may be slightly softer with some effigies, as at Chichester, Westminster (Lady Aveline) and Romsey, but mostly it is all very stiffly rendered. The toes of the right foot of the effigy at Denham are pointing inwards, a very small indication of an easy attitude. The clear indication of the entire feet beneath the garments of the lady effigy at Monkton Farleigh (pl. 166) only stresses the stiff and rather crude rendering. Their form is badly proportioned, which may be an indication of the inexperience of the carver, although the overall expression is not without interest.

The position of the legs and the feet of the lady effigies of the 13th century remains stiff, without much variation, and consequently the attitude expressed is of an embarrassingly crude nature. If there is any grace or elegance in the attitude, this is due in the first place to the rendering of the folds, and such elegance only seems to increase towards the very end of the century.

As far as the effigies of civilians are concerned the stiffness of attitude expressed by the legs and the feet seems to be even greater than in the lady effigies. This is due to the fact that their coats are shorter, reaching just to the ankles or even only to the calves of the legs. Further, the coats end in one straight line. There are no folds to alleviate the stiffness of the lower legs and feet, and the coats give no indication at all of legs or knees beneath.

Effigies of civilians with gowns ending above the ankles are found at Seavington St Michael, Winchelsea, Long Ashton (I & II), the smaller effigies at Curry Rivel (III & IV), Llangerron (pls 182-184) and Newton by Toft and the two outstanding effigies of kings. The effigy of King Henry III in Westminster Abbey, of 1291-1293,<sup>414</sup> has its right knee slightly stressed by a flat plane among the falling lines of the folds. The feet do not rest on any support, thus emphasizing their length, which again fits nicely into the elongated elegance of the whole figure. The feet of the effigy at Llangerron are very crudely rendered and merge with the amorphous lump of the foot support. The effigy of a civilian at Bristol, almost certainly of c.1250,<sup>415</sup> has its gown reaching down to the instep, so that only the rather broad feet are to be seen (pl. 177).

Effigies with even shorter coats, leaving the lower part of the legs entirely free, are seen at Compton Martin, Hatford (pls 176+181) and Hereford.<sup>416</sup> The legs of the effigies at Compton Martin and Hatford are given in relief from the slab: no undercutting has been used. The very slight undercutting of the lower legs of the mutilated effigy at Hereford may be taken as a sign of a more advanced date. The feet as well as the head of this effigy are gone, however.

Of all the knightly effigies described in this study, about one seventh, i.e. nineteen effigies, do not show the cross-legged attitude. They belong either to the earliest group of knightly effigies of before the middle of the century, or to that of the late 13th century. Only two, at Newton Solney and Rampton (pls 22+44), belong to the intermediate period. It should be noted that this attitude of the legs occurs in combination with all sorts of attitudes of the hands and positions of the shield.

Four early effigies, at Great Malvern, Hatfield, Sandwich and Thruxton (pls 43, 46, 48), show the combination of straight legs with the shield placed flat on the chest. This combination, however,

is not mutually exclusive, as such a placing of the shield also occurs with the cross-legged attitude.<sup>417</sup> The feet may be placed on an animal, on leaves, or there may be no foot support at all as with the earliest effigy at London (Temple Church IV), and the later ones at East Tuddenham and Wickhampton (pls 114+115). One effigy at London (Temple Church VII) has its feet on grotesque heads. Leaves below the feet occur at Newton Solney and Salisbury (below the right foot.) The combination of parallel legs with the attitude of the hands in prayer occurs on the earlier effigies at Sandwich <sup>418</sup> and London (Temple Church VII), and on the later ones at London (Westminster Abbey II), East Tuddenham, Little Easton, Stockerston and Wickhampton (pls 114-116, 119). The combination of parallel legs with the sword-handling attitude (i.e. the right hand grasping the sword and the left holding the scabbard) is very exceptional. It occurs only on the effigies at Kirkstead and Rampton (pls 18+22).

One hand holding the sword upwards or downwards is seen at Great Malvern, Hatfield, London (Temple Church I), Newton Solney and Thruxton (pls 44, 46, 48). The effigy at Sotherton (pl. 53) has the left hand holding the scabbard and the right hand resting alongside the body.

The straightness of the legs mostly gives a rigid expression to the whole attitude of the figure, no matter whether the legs are undercut (London, Temple Church I & VII, East Tuddenham, Little Easton, Rampton and Wickhampton) or not. Only with the effigy at Sotherton is the straightness of the whole relieved by a slight bending of the right knee. Sometimes the legs are farther apart towards the feet than higher up, as at Salisbury (I) and Little Easton, and the feet are sometimes depicted in a more sideways position or slightly bent over the foot support (Little Easton, Rampton).

No definite conclusions as to date can be drawn from the feature of the straight legs alone. If we want a clue to a more accurate date, we should see the feature in combination with other details, of the hands, helmets, shields etc. Only occasionally has an attempt been made to lessen the stiffness of straight legs. The method of undercutting the legs seems to occur more often with later effigies. The early effigy at Salisbury already shows a tendency to relieve the straightness but still in a very restrained way, and the effigies in London (Temple Church I and VII) all have the legs

undercut, but here one cannot be sure because of the many restorations, especially to the slab.<sup>419</sup> The straightness of the legs does not conflict with the overall impression of most of the earlier effigies, for instance those that show no undercutting at all and have the shield flat on the breast. For some later effigies, too, the combination of this aspect with others, the small size and the praying attitude of the hands, may be called satisfactory.<sup>420</sup> Thus the parallel legs on the two very similar effigies at East Tuddenham and Wickhampton may have been intentional. The crude straightness of the legs gives them a stiff impression, which is even emphasized by the undercutting of the legs, yet the combination of the straight legs with the other aspects makes the whole more tolerable. The straight legs on the effigy at Rampton is a complement to the expression of action. At Sotherton the stiffness of the legs is relieved by the slight bending of the knees, while at Little Easton the rigid impression conveyed by the legs is not at all conspicuous.

#### 4.3.3 *The early cross-legged effigies*

When one wants to discuss the earliest cross-legged effigies, three different groups, in my opinion, should be taken into consideration, two of them connected with a West-Country origin and one with the Purbeck marble workshops of Corfe and London.

First of all those effigies have to be considered which have the cross-legged attitude and which at the same time can definitely be said to belong to the sculptural style of the West front of Wells Cathedral. Fryer (1923-4)<sup>421</sup> made up a list of all monumental effigies connected with the Wells and, later, Bristol style, and this was commented on and worked out in further detail by Anderson (1950).<sup>422</sup> The point of departure is the noteworthy effigy of William Longespée the Elder in Salisbury Cathedral, undoubtedly made by the same sculptor who worked on some statues of the Wells front, and thus securely dated 1230-40. Effigies very much like it, but with the legs crossed, are found at Shepton Mallet (I & II) and Atherington, and further also at Iddesleigh, Seaborough and Tickenham (I)<sup>423</sup> (pl 3-8). The closeness in style between these effigies, the one at Salisbury, and the statues on the Wells front, has already been described in detail in the first part of this chapter dealing with the position of the hands.<sup>424</sup> A date of not later than c1250 can be established for all of them and thus we have a definite, well-defined and early, dated group of effigies that show the attitude of the crossed legs.



Attention may be drawn to the inexperienced way in which the crossed legs have been sculptured on most of these effigies. The legs are stiff and there is not the least bending of the knees. The first effigy at Shepton Mallet shows the legs lying on the slab without any undercutting, neither for the upper nor for the lower legs. The second one shows the lower part of the leg free from the slab, thereby putting extra stress on the stiffness of the whole leg. The legs are crossed well above the knees. The whole impression is one of long and narrow proportions and rather blocklike, which is also true of the effigy at Tickenham and to a lesser extent of the one at Iddesleigh; in this they resemble the statues of the Wells front closely. The effigies at Atherington and Seaborough seem to show a slightly easier attitude of the legs, but this is hard to judge, as in both cases the legs are almost gone.

Other effigies that can be related to the Wells style are to be seen at Abbey Dore (I), Bristol (I), Warcham (I) and Worcester (I; pls 13, 14, 16). I have already described them with reference to the position of the arms, see above, pages 79 ff. The more advanced position of the arms seemed to point to a slightly later date. The effigy at Bristol (I) has its legs well undercut, whereas the others show the stiffness and optical impression of great length of the legs as seen in the earlier ones.

The fragments of one or two knightly effigies at Tintern Abbey may belong here, but they are too scanty to make accurate dating possible.<sup>425</sup>

Only one out of eleven effigies discussed so far has the left leg crossed over the right. Taking all cross-legged effigies of the 13th century together it appears that about one in three shows the left leg crossing over the right. Although the choice for either of the two positions often seems to be arbitrary, there are also cases in which the choice can have been deliberate. By crossing the legs in a certain way one side of the effigy is seen to better advantage, and this is shown to the spectator and worked up more elaborately than the other side.

Such an interpretation may account for the fact that the greater number of knights have their right legs crossing over the other: in this way the right side of the effigy is of more importance sculpturally than the left side, which is hidden by the shield. The two effigies at Wareham show the two different positions; this seems to be due to the original place the effigies occupied.<sup>426</sup> Such a special

reason can also be indicated for the effigies of Edmund Crouchback and Aymer de Valence in Westminster Abbey,<sup>427</sup> where the effigies are slightly turned so as to look at the High Altar and the crossing of the legs seems to stress this intention. Mostly, however, the original place of the effigies is not known, and there is often hardly any difference in stress between the left or right side of the effigy.

A second group consists of the effigies at Old Sodbury, Monkton Farleigh (I & II; pls 40+41), and Bitton, and related effigies. The first three have much in common, notably the relief-like character of the whole, the placing of the shield flat on the breast and the peculiar way the legs are crossed. The effigy at Bitton (though not properly belonging to this study as only the head and the shield are given in relief and the rest incised)<sup>428</sup> is so much like the others as far as representation is concerned that it cannot be omitted.

On all of them we see that the legs are crossed high up and are rather far apart lower down. The toes of both feet point strangely towards each other in a very unnatural way. The reason why the legs and the feet are depicted in this way may be found in the relief-like character and the thinness and narrowness of the block used. The impression is of a figure incised into a slab—the legs of the effigy at Bitton are actually incised—where such a representation of the legs is far less unnatural, as the incised slabs at St. Bride's Major, Glamorgan, and at Avenbury, Herefs., (now at Bromyard)<sup>429</sup> may show. We do not know how the feet of the effigies at Shepton Mallet (I & II), Atherington, Seaborough and Tickenham (I) were placed, but a placing of the feet as here described would not be incompatible with what is left of the legs at Seaborough and Tickenham. A comparably early date, before the middle of the century, would certainly seem justified for the effigies at Bitton and Old Sodbury,<sup>430</sup> and although the two effigies at Monkton Farleigh are sculptured with a somewhat better technique, they cannot be of a much later date. The knightly effigy at Worcester also belongs here, but the advanced state of the sculpturing technique certainly points to a date after the effigies hitherto mentioned.

Although the same feature (*viz.* the lower legs being apart and the toes pointing inwards) does occur on several much later effigies, often also in the West Country, there is mostly a slight difference. At Chaddesleigh Corbett, Draycot Cerne and Nettlecombe (pls 78, 80, 88), the feet are placed in a slightly more satisfactory manner,

as also on the effigies at Down Ampney and Kemble. The one at Kemble is done in low relief and the relief at Down Ampney (pl. 79) is not much higher, but the bending of the knees certainly points to a much later date in the century. In my opinion the feature here described, especially as it occurs with the earlier examples, may be seen as a provincial characteristic of this area.

A third group is formed by those showing the so-called walking position of the legs.<sup>431</sup> The legs are still stiff with hardly any bending of the knees and they are still crossed high up. Consequently, the length of the legs is stressed, thus showing an optical but clear difference from the effigies of the later 13th century and the early 14th century, where the impression is one of rather short legs. A difference with the previous two groups is that the feet and toes are pointing in the same outward direction, and that they are not resting on an animal support, so that they give an impression of walking. There are six of them in marble: in London (Temple Church III, VI, VIII), Eastwick, Walkern and Wareham, and two of local limestone at Furness (pls 16, 20, 27, 29, 30, 33, 49).

All of them, in my opinion, are of a later date than the earliest cross-legged effigies in freestone from the west.<sup>432</sup> The 'walking position' of the legs can best be explained as an idea borrowed from the cross-legged attitude invented in the West Country at a phase when the possibilities of this particular feature were not fully grasped. By leaving out the foot support, and having the toes point in the same direction, more movement was attained, hence the so-called 'walking position'. Yet the general incongruity of this aspect, especially in combination with the rest of the body, is clear and must soon have been felt and that must have been the reason why few effigies show this particular feature.

The three effigies in London (Temple Church III, VI, VIII) are difficult to date because of the many restorations, yet taken together they seem to form a second group among the knightly effigies preserved here, as distinct from the group of the straight-legged effigies (Temple Church, I, IV and VII; pls 27-29). Some influence of the ripple fold drapery, so typical of the Wells style, is discernible,<sup>433</sup> especially on the knights III and VI. Knight VIII, sometimes seen as the earliest of the three in question, already shows a slight turning of the body sustaining the attitude of the crossed legs,<sup>434</sup> and the idea of movement is even more worked out on knight VI. It is indeed hard to believe that this group should fall between the

Longespée effigy at Salisbury and its immediate derivatives at Shepton Mallet, Atherington, Seaborough, Tickenham and Iddesleigh, where the idea of movement in the form of 'walking' is absent.

The effigy at Wareham may perhaps be seen as a link between the two groups of freestone and marble effigies. On the one hand the position of the legs has much in common with that on the effigies at Shepton Mallet and Tickenham, but on the other hand, looked at from a certain angle, it suggests a 'walking position'. However, there is the foot support of a lion, which still holds in check the awkward movement seen on the three London effigies. All this supports what we found for the folds of the surcoat and the position of the hands: they, too, pointed to a somewhat later phase.

The effigy at Walkern resembles, as far as attitude is concerned, knight VIII at London. A certain turning of the body, though less marked, can be distinguished which, together with the more advanced position of the hands, prevents this effigy from competing in date with the earliest cross-legged effigies in freestone.

The effigy at Eastwick, also showing the 'walking position' of the legs, seems to be somewhat later in date too, as the legs are more freely bent at the knees.

The two effigies at Furness, of which the legs are much broken, also seem to have the 'walking position' of the legs, although the feet are resting against some flower ornament. The position of the legs is not combined with a frontal attitude of the upper part of the body. The helmets with their eye-slits are inclined definitely to the right, thus making the whole attitude look more natural. However, I think that the position of the legs would exclude a late 13th century date.

Taking together all the cross-legged effigies discussed so far, it appears that the origin of this peculiarity should be looked for in the West Country with the freestone-effigy makers rather than with the Purbeck marblers of the London workshops. The Purbeck marble effigy that may come closest in date is the one at Wareham, with the 'walking position' of the legs, which could be explained as a secondary stage, confirming other results already found for the position of the hands, drapery style and other minor details. All this seems to justify the conclusion that the freestone cross-legged effigies of the West Country should be dated earlier than those made of Purbeck marble.

#### 4.3.4 *The cross-legged effigies of the second half of the thirteenth century*

From the middle of the 13th century onwards crossed legs were used on almost every knightly effigy for more than three quarters of a century. The feature of the crossed legs spread rapidly from the outset, not only among freestone effigies but also among Purbeck marble effigies. It had soon become a cliché for every maker of effigies. Thus it was used with all three groups of knightly effigies which I distinguished when discussing the position of the hands, viz. the group with the hands placed in a restful way, the sword-handling group and the praying group.<sup>435</sup> The second group outnumbered the other two, and it was the very happy combination of the sword-handling attitude with that of the crossed legs which made it such a striking type of effigy. Indeed the combination of these two characteristics was a very happy one. Both the sword-handling attitude and the crossing of the legs naturally complement each other in contributing towards an expression of vigour and alertness of the military effigy, although the degree of vigour expressed differs greatly (there are also sword-sheathing knights).

It took, however, some time before this particular type of knight became general. Most cross-legged, sword-handling knights are of the late 13th or early 14th century, when it was indeed the most prominent knightly effigy in England. About 1300 some cross-legged, sword-handling knights received what I would call a lively martial attitude, to which I shall later return.

Exclusive attention to the typically English, sword-drawing, cross-legged knight often made one forget that the crossing of the legs was not exclusively employed—as it was when combined with the sword-handling attitude—to express vigour and alertness. The earlier knightly effigies showing a more restful position of the hands had the legs crossed to express rest and composure. Artistically, too, this combination can be called a happy one.

The small but important group of effigies in the third quarter of the century belonging to the 'Composed London Style'<sup>436</sup> chiefly owe their excellent quality to the felicitous combination of crossed legs expressing restfulness and a restful position of the hands. The whole attitude expressed on the Purbeck marble effigies in London (Temple Church III, VI, VIII) Eastwick and Stowe-Nine-Churches and the freestone ones at Merevale and Pershore, (pls 27, 29-33, 52), underlined by the details of armour and dress, shows a naturalness

of repose not easily found on any other effigies either before or after. Nor is it an easy superficial naturalness deprived of deeper meaning. It is a naturalness that as always in the Middle Ages shows dignified reverence for the ideals of the Christian faith. It expresses belief and certainty in the hereafter.<sup>437</sup>

The effigies of the group just described form a link with the knightly effigies of the end of the century that show the hands folded in prayer together with the crossing of the legs. This combination also stresses restfulness and peacefulness. It is this cross-legged, praying type of knight that gradually and successfully challenged the cross-legged, sword-handling knight. One of the most striking examples is the effigy of Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey of 1295-1300, where the ease in the attitude of the whole figure, slightly but decisively turned sideways so as to make it look at the high altar,<sup>438</sup> is the first thing that catches the eye (pls 123+126).

Most knights of the end of the century showing the hands folded in prayer also show their legs crossed. Yet it is with these praying-type effigies that the feature of the straight legs again seems to come to the fore. Although this is a subject that mainly belongs to the early 14th century it has its roots in the 13th century, so that some remarks on it seem appropriate here.

The sword-handling attitude is, with one or two exceptions, never combined with straight legs, whereas the other combination, hands joined in prayer and straight legs, seems to have been felt to be less incongruous. French influence may have played a part here: it was normal for French effigies of the period to show the hands in prayer and the legs parallel.<sup>439</sup> Such a French work in England is the already mentioned effigy in Westminster Abbey of William de Valence, which will certainly have influenced other effigies<sup>440</sup> (pl. 122).

Another group of effigies should also be commented on in this connection, viz. those at East Tuddenham, Little Easton and Wickhampton and elsewhere (pls 114-116). The hands of these effigies are holding a heart, a feature strongly resembling that of hands in prayer, while the legs remain straight. Heart-burials that show the combined features of crossed legs and a heart held in the hands are rare. A 13th century example is found at Tenbury Wells (pl. 118), where the legs are crossed in a remarkably easy and natural way. One foot is resting upon the other, with the legs

crossing below the knees. Yet such a combination may have been felt to be somewhat overdone. The stiffness in appearance of the effigies at East Tuddenham and Wickhampton has already been pointed out. Although it may be due to the inexperience of the carver,<sup>441</sup> it cannot be denied that a certain dignity is expressed by the attitude, which would have been lost if the legs had been crossed.

Thus the sculptor may have refrained from crossing the legs on knightly effigies with hands joined in prayer expressing composure in order to accentuate the contrast with the sword-handling, cross-legged knight expressing vigour and alertness.<sup>442</sup> With the praying type of knight the French idea of straight legs may gradually have been felt to be more satisfactory and may thus have caused a diversion from the feature of the crossed legs towards the rendering of the attitude on knightly effigies as it was done with the other effigies of ladies and civilians.

Another factor for the reappearance of the parallel legs was the coming into use of plate armour, but this occurs in the 14th century. This was formerly thought to be the only reason.<sup>443</sup> Although it is easy to understand that legs encased in steel are not easily bent, I hope to have shown that there are other reasons equally convincing.

In any case, although the cross-legged knightly effigy was still extensively used in the first half of the 14th century, the sword-handling, cross-legged type was quickly giving way to the praying, cross-legged type, and gradually the feature of the crossed legs itself was losing ground. About the middle of the 14th century the English cross-legged effigy had disappeared. Until that time, however, the cross-legged knightly effigy had reigned supreme in England.

#### 4.3.5 *The lively martial attitude*

One particular group, which I have already mentioned, should be discussed in some detail. It is the group of knights described by some as 'dancing with springy vigour' <sup>444</sup> and by others as the 'dying Gaul' type.<sup>445</sup> Not only are the descriptions contradictory but, what is more, this group of knightly effigies appears to be much smaller than is usually supposed.

The two examples usually given, and often even described as the supreme specimens of the English sword-handling, cross-legged knights, are the effigies at Gloucester and at Dorchester, Ox-

fords.<sup>446</sup> (pls 96+97). Yet the effigy at Dorchester is neither 'dancing' nor 'dying'. Of two other effigies in this group, that in London (Temple Church II; pl. 28) might perhaps be said to be 'dancing with springy vigour' and that at Aldworth might be compared with a 'dying Gaul'. If a name is needed I would prefer the more general description of 'lively martial attitude,'<sup>447</sup> 'lively' then having the meaning of 'life-like', or 'full of life', and so more in accordance with what is seen in real life generally than with one particular aspect of that life. The effigy at Dorchester is indeed more 'full of life' than all other sword-drawing knights, and in this way it may be described as unique:<sup>448</sup> qualitatively it is the most outstanding effigy of the type.

At Gloucester the position of the legs, in my opinion, does not suit any of the above descriptions. In so far as this effigy can be judged rightly at all, owing to the several remodellings it underwent later,<sup>449</sup> the legs must have been resting on a foot support. Although the cushion underneath the head is rather high, the head belongs to a knight that is lying down in a quiet attitude. The position of the hands, now rather awkward, seems to have been one of resting on scabbard or sword instead of grasping it.

What really makes these four effigies so different from others is not the fact of 'springy vigour' or of 'dying', but the fact that the legs, and for that matter other parts as well, have been sculptured fully in the round. The upper leg that crosses the other is drawn up so high that the leg makes a sharp bend at the knee and consequently leaves a lot of room between the knees and legs, whereas with other cross-legged effigies there is far less room between the knees and legs, and between the legs and slab, and the legs are far less bent. It is the free use of sculpturing technique that is foremost. The complete mastery of the technique of undercutting and the conspicuous way this manner of sculpturing is made use of are the aspects that have mostly been overlooked, although they are quite evident for anyone looking at them stylistically.

At least two other effigies, those in London (Temple Church V) and Bere Ferrers (pls 98+103), can be added to the four mentioned so far. Without saying that all these effigies were made by one hand or in one and the same workshop,<sup>450</sup> I think it evident that all show similar characteristics: a free use of undercutting and a complete mastery of the technique of sculpturing a figure in the round. The artists seem to have consciously demonstrated



the advanced state of the technical development in sculpturing.

Some other effigies, although to a lesser extent, can be connected with the group, e.g. the effigies at Hanbury and Hatfield Broak Oak <sup>451</sup> (pl. 100). With them, too, undercutting is largely made use of, though not so explicitly. The larger effigy at Bristol (Mayor's Chapel II) <sup>452</sup> may also be included. This vigorous knight may be seen as an early example of the group. His right elbow sticks well out, but the sculpturing fully in the round is not yet as free as with other examples. All the effigies mentioned so far show more vigour than is normally seen on sword-handling knights, but the most distinctive feature on all of them remains the free and ostentatious use of sculpturing fully in the round as a means to express this vigour.

As far as dates are concerned only those in London (Temple Church (II & V), Dorchester, Gloucester (I), and Bristol (Mayor's Chapel II) can, in my opinion, be given a certain 13th century date. The others belong to the early 14th century. The one at Dorchester is sometimes dated almost three quarters of a century earlier,<sup>453</sup> with which I cannot agree. True, the effigy has an antiquarian look in the absence of details of armour, but approached from the view of attitude, such sculpturing fully and freely in the round, and such attention to the different views from which the effigy can be looked at are impossible to imagine for funerary effigies before the end of the 13th century. The romantic tinge which is manifest in this limited group of very individual effigies is a sign of a romantic movement to be seen in English sculpture from c1300 till about the middle of the 14th century.<sup>454</sup>

The group should be considered as a special offshoot from the general type of sword-handling, cross-legged knightly effigy. Most effigies of this type express their inherently lively act with much more restraint. Generally, though not categorically, it can be said that with them, as elsewhere, there is gradually a greater use of undercutting. Yet nowhere is this use of undercutting so conspicuous as with the effigies of this group.

Nowhere is the liveliness heightened to such an extent by making use of the technical possibilities of sculpturing freely in the round. The individual way in which this technical aspect is dealt with makes these effigies stand out from the rest. One should not forget that the effigies of the group here described are exceptional even among the typically English sword-handling, cross-legged effigies. And

neither should one forget that in England there were many possibilities for a satisfactory rendering of the attitude of the knightly figure in general, and the cross-legged one in particular, and that the effigies of this spectacular but very limited group show only one of the possibilities.

#### 4.3.6 *The origin and meaning of the crossed legs*

The feature of the crossed legs on English effigies has been commented on by practically all authors writing about medieval funerary monuments. But there has never yet been a complete systematical survey of how the legs of such effigies are crossed. This is what I have tried to do for the 13th century effigies. I have discussed the different ways in which the legs can be crossed and I have tried to group the different types so that, in accordance with the conclusions about the position of the hands, a chronological development of types would become discernible. Although I have shown where and when the feature of the crossed legs was started and how the effigy makers approached this new idea in the first tentative stages, I have not yet discussed its possible source: was it something wholly new or was the feature borrowed from somewhere else? Nor have I yet discussed the possible underlying motif. These two aspects are closely related and it is especially the possible underlying motif which has attracted so many authors up to the present day. Yet most authors do not seem to have achieved more than some personal, often superficial, remarks. Only H. s'Jacob<sup>455</sup> has tried a more thorough investigation of the underlying motif. But as she completely left aside a stylistic analysis, her discussion remained very one-sided and her conclusions were often unsatisfactory, as I hope to indicate below.

After a consideration of the literature on the subject the following different approaches can be summarized. First of all, from the 18th century onwards, there was the question whether the knightly effigies with crossed legs denoted Knights Templars or associates of that order. This was followed by a discussion whether or not such effigies denoted Crusaders, an idea which became so popular that the discussion about it has occurred again and again. Others have tried to solve the problem by stressing the combination of this feature with that of the sword-drawing attitude, together pointing to a typical expression of vigour and alertness. This agreed with the notion of what the essence of a knight was or should be.

To a few continental writers crossed legs conveyed the meaning of high rank. Some other writers again dismissed the difficulty by explaining it as a fashion of the time or as a caprice. Lastly a more technical approach came to the fore, pointing to the favourable results of such an attitude for the sculptural work as such, for its contribution towards a greater recumbency and hence its aesthetic appreciation.

When Lethieullier in 1772 wrote that all cross-legged effigies were vulgarly called Templars, he also expressed his doubts about the truth of this, as he did not know of a single Templar that was beyond any doubt commemorated by such an effigy.<sup>456</sup> It was soon pointed out that Knights Templars did not have any personal possessions and were never buried in knightly armour, so that they could not have been commemorated by knightly effigies.<sup>457</sup> Consequently it was suggested that such effigies denoted associates of that order. The even then well-known effigies in Temple Church, London, which indeed may have been erected for such associates, may have had too great an influence on the discussions of Knights Templars or their associates being commemorated by cross-legged effigies.

Different from the above is the more general name of crusader, i.e. a knight who had been on a crusade or had taken a vow to do so. It is this name that was used extensively for these effigies, even perhaps from the 16th century onwards.<sup>458</sup> The problem that also other effigies, of ladies and civilians, showed crossed legs was then explained by the fact that several ladies had fought side by side with the knights in the Crusades<sup>459</sup> or by pointing to the possibility of cross-legged effigies commemorating persons who had been to the Holy Land, whether as soldiers or as pilgrims.<sup>460</sup> On the whole, however, we can say that the difference between Knights Templars, Crusaders and even Pilgrims to the Holy Land remains vague in the descriptions of cross-legged effigies.

The popularity of the Crusaders theory is best exemplified by a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine of 1789.<sup>461</sup> In this letter we read that the three different positions i.e. 1) hands in prayer with the sword sheathed; 2) drawing the sword and 3) returning the sword to the sheath, denoted that the knight had either died in peace at home after a Crusade, had died in the Holy War, or had died on his passage home. Although this interpretation could easily be refuted,<sup>462</sup> similar popular beliefs were easily taken for granted.

An example in point is the description of a knightly effigy in the visitor's guide to Southwark Cathedral,<sup>463</sup> where it is said that the crossing of the legs at the ankles, at the knees or above the knees meant that the knight had made one, two or three crusades respectively. Similar explanations will have circulated widely. Up to the present day, in popular church guides a common name for cross-legged effigies has been "Crusader". Although most writers in the more scientific periodicals have abandoned the idea of crusaders it still survives at a popular level.

But since Panofsky argues that after all there may be some truth in this motif and as Brieger also comes very close to the same opinion,<sup>464</sup> we will have to go through the counter-arguments once again. A very important argument against such an assumption is the fact that most cross-legged effigies were made after the period of the Crusades. When the first cross-legged effigies appeared towards the middle of the 13th century, the period of the Crusades was drawing to a close. The greatest boom in such effigies was at a time when there was no longer any question of Crusades. This was already pointed out in the 19th century, and it was clearly formulated by Prior & Gardner,<sup>465</sup> after which it was taken over by many authors. To this may be added the striking absence of cross-legged knightly effigies on the Continent. No reason can be found why Crusaders on the Continent were commemorated by straight-legged effigies and by cross-legged ones in England. Nor is there any proof that the straight-legged knightly effigies in England at this time were knights who had not been so far east or who had not taken a vow to do so.<sup>466</sup> That the crossing of the legs should point to a Crusader is not often explicitly stated by most authors and the connection remains on the whole of a very loose nature. The crossing of the legs is vaguely related to the cross as a universal symbol for all that was connected with the Crusades, as is implied by the word "crusader" itself.<sup>467</sup> One or two authors in the 18th century refer to the popular belief that Knights Templars were buried with crossed legs, which was then thought to be true of all knights buried beneath cross-legged effigies. But this idea seems to have been the result of reasoning about the feature of crossed legs on effigies rather than the result of scientific research.<sup>468</sup>

The possible origin of this idea could lie in a rather romantic idea about knights. The romantic image of a knight has often been

connected with the Crusades and seems to have been especially strong in the 16th century. Characteristically enough this was a century when several fake knightly effigies were made to look like medieval ones or real medieval effigies were altered to fit the ancestry of a noble family.<sup>469</sup>

From the foregoing it has to be concluded that there is no reason why a cross-legged effigy should denote a Crusader and that the Crusaders theory does not agree with the historical facts. Neither does it agree with the development of the cross-legged effigy itself seen from the viewpoint of technique, to which no attention has been paid at all by the authors writing on this subject of Crusaders.

The romantic notion of a cross-legged knightly effigy denoting a Crusader is also present among those writers who want to stress that this particular position of the legs designates the alertness and vigour of the knight represented. This idea is especially prevalent when the feature of the crossed legs is combined with the sword-handling attitude of the hands. Sword-handling, cross-legged knights have a very active appearance, and they show a readiness to fight which is considered to be the essence of knighthood itself.<sup>470</sup> But as I have shown in the chronological survey of the different attitudes, this was not the only type of cross-legged knightly effigy that existed, nor was it the first. There were other types as well, never intended to express vigour and alertness. The special type with the 'lively martial attitude' was a limited late development. Yet it is practically always from this group that two examples are taken to prove the theory that the typical English knightly effigy has an expression of vigour and alertness and is the very embodiment of knighthood. Apart from the fact that the one at Gloucester is of questionable value, the two effigies at Gloucester and Dorchester are very exceptional and certainly not typical of the average English cross-legged effigy. What is missing in the descriptions is a stylistic analysis of the attitude of the two effigies and an indication of their relative positions among other effigies. And it is probably because of this that the old romantic idea about cross-legged effigies reappeared.

The same biased view of the English knightly effigy in the 13th century is found in the recent work on medieval effigies by Bauch.<sup>471</sup> There we find that the cross-legged, sword-handling knight is the most personal contribution England made to medieval art. Further it is suggested that both features were exclusively meant to complement each other, thus conducive to this particular effect. But like

other writers Bauch has paid disproportionate attention to examples of that most limited group with the 'lively martial attitude', doing little justice to the other types.

Something should be said here about Bauch's remark on the origin of the feature of the crossed legs. He is the first to draw a close comparison with late Romanesque jamb statues with crossed legs; up till then the feature had only been compared by some authors with the 12th century sculpture of Toulouse in general.<sup>472</sup> But direct influence will, I think, be difficult to prove. Crossed legs in Romanesque sculpture were also known in England, clearly borrowed from France, both for sitting and standing figures. Nor was it unknown in the art of illumination in England. The general impression of this feature in Romanesque art is one of walking, and more generally of movement; with sitting figures it is used to express greater easiness.<sup>473</sup> Though in the 13th century a general acquaintance with the feature cannot be denied, it must be pointed out that quite a step had still to be taken before crossed legs could be used on effigies. Not only is there a difference in the expression aimed at—there is no question of easy sitting figures and only rarely of walking figures—but, more important, the manner of how and where the legs are crossing each other is usually quite different as well.

The idea that crossed legs express high rank has also found several followers. Already put forward at the middle of the 19th century <sup>474</sup> it has found supporters up to the present time. E. Bertaux <sup>475</sup> thought so and not long ago H. s'Jacob <sup>476</sup> devoted some pages to the subject.

Discussing the crossing of the legs in general, s'Jacob traces the feature back to Roman art. But by treating it in such a general way, she has, as far as I can see, overlooked several facts. In her view the antique models express 'the pleasant Roman reclining pose'. This is not continued into medieval times where 'the exalted state of formal life' is expressed. To her the crossing of the legs is 'a medieval convention intended to convey dignity'. Now this may be true for sitting and standing figures of kings, judges etc., to be seen e.g. in the 12th century sculptures of the School of Toulouse, which is something also maintained by M. C. Enlart.<sup>477</sup> Later examples in England are found on the front of Exeter Cathedral.<sup>478</sup> But the difference for instance between a king seen on the front of Exeter Cathedral, sitting on a kind of seat with legs crossed at the ankles or at the lower part of the calves and knees far apart, and the

knightly effigy of Stowe-Nine-Churches with the legs crossed and close together, is so great that we can immediately see that these positions have nothing in common. In the one case exalted state may be expressed, in the other it is repose that is the main idea. As has been shown in our chronological survey, the crossing of the legs may express not only repose, but also vigour. I know of no knightly effigy in which the overall impression of the position of the legs is one of dignity. True, the ultimate expression of the pleasant Roman reclining pose and the composure on some medieval recumbent effigies often comes very close, but this is coincidental. One should not be, in s'Jacob's own words, 'too rash to ascribe every specimen to influence of antique models'.

A closer analysis of the examples given by s'Jacob to illustrate her view regarding recumbent figures shows she has missed the point. She mentions the knight at Gloucester and the one at Chew Magna, traditionally dated to the end of the 13th century and the second quarter of the 14th century. But strong doubts exist nowadays about the genuineness of both effigies.<sup>479</sup> The former has been severely tampered with, so much so that one can hardly be sure which parts are genuine and which are not. The latter is such a curious example of English medieval funerary art that a 16th century date has been suggested. s'Jacob says that 'while lying prone, they look as though they had been laid down in a sitting position with crossed legs'. Earlier in this chapter I have described the group of knights with the 'lively martial attitude', to which the effigy at Gloucester may belong and to which the effigy at Chew Magna should belong if it were genuinely medieval. The type lies at the end of the development of cross-legged knights. It is not a sitting knight laid down, but the ultimate consequence of the free technique of sculpturing fully in the round of the cross-legged, sword-drawing knight.

Another example given by s'Jacob concerns the row of knights on the base of the original tomb of Bishop Thomas Cantilupe at Hereford. Here we have several knights, most of them sitting, not standing as the author supposes, under arches in all kinds of positions and some of them with their legs crossed. They are mostly considered to be the English predecessors of the so-called mourners on tombs of 1300 and later. To say that the position of the crossed legs here signifies 'the approximation of the divine' really goes too far. In the different positions of the legs we should see the result of

various individual attitudes. The expression of well-observed rather naturalistic attitudes is foremost.<sup>480</sup>

Crossed legs are typical of knightly effigies. Other effigies mostly show the parallel legs. I do not think that knightly effigies are the best places to express high rank or exalted state. Other effigies, e.g. those of bishops, mostly and naturally express a higher rank and a more exalted state than knightly effigies, in which either repose or liveliness is expressed. And comparing the French knight of the period with the English, the impression is that the French knight who never crosses the legs has more 'dignity' than the English one.

E. Bertaux, adhering to the idea of high rank, and seeing the origin in the 12th century sculpture of Toulouse, comes to the conclusion that the effect of the feature on an effigy in a lying position is absurd.<sup>481</sup> This is a reasonable conclusion, but the premisses are wrong. One can easily and comfortably lie down with one leg crossing the other, but this has nothing to do with dignity or high rank.

Bertaux formulated his ideas when comparing cross-legged knightly effigies that are found in a few places in Spain, mainly at Villasilruga and Palazuelos and some in a museum at Barcelona, with some of the knightly effigies in Temple Church, London. These Spanish effigies have been described in greater detail by F. Anton.<sup>482</sup> When we compare these effigies with effigies of English knights we get the impression of direct influence from England. They can all be traced back to one prototype, made most probably in the workshop of Anton Perez de Carrión. The entourage is very elaborate with complete scenes on the wall behind the tomb and on the front of the tomb, things found in England on a much smaller scale. The interest in small detail on the effigy itself is also much greater than on English knightly effigies. This Spanish group of knights is very limited as far as time, area and number is concerned. They form a rather strange group amidst other Spanish funerary effigies, and they seem to have a strongly archaizing element in some details. This would easily point to an influence from abroad, and influence from England seems plausible. In general the type of knight very well fits in with the quiet type of cross-legged knight found in England at the end of the 13th century and in the beginning of the 14th century, which coincides with the period in which these Spanish effigies were made.



A different view is expressed by those writers who see in the feature of the crossed legs no meaning at all or just a fashion of the period, in the same way as it was fashionable in the 17th century to represent funerary figures in a kneeling attitude.<sup>483</sup> Pevsner recently revived this idea when suggesting that it was one of the caprices of the Decorated style in England.<sup>484</sup> And although such an explanation sounds too simple to be quite convincing, there may be some truth in it. It is clear from the evidence that once there were crossed legs, very soon every knightly effigy followed the fashion of the day and showed the legs crossed without much thought for a deeper meaning on the part of the sculptor. Such a fortunate and striking invention would naturally very soon become a cliché, and as a cliché a special effort indeed would be needed to diverge from it again. When one tries to elucidate the feature of the crossed legs the cliché character cannot be ruled out.

I now come to the more formal views on the problem. Several authorities<sup>485</sup> have suggested that the crossing of the legs must have been a technical device to give support at the knees, the weakest point of the effigy between the head on the pillow and the feet on the animal below. But this could only have been valid for those effigies that were sculptured fully in the round. For those effigies on which the difficulty of crossing the legs had been mastered and which are sculptured fully in the round, there is hardly any question of a weak point that needs support.<sup>486</sup>

Although little attention has ever been paid to a stylistic analysis of English effigies, the idea that the crossing of the legs may have been an artistic device to show some parts of the effigy to better advantage or to stress the sculpturesque value of nicely flowing lines has not gone unnoticed.<sup>487</sup> Attention has also been drawn to the fact that the crossing of the legs has something to do with the change from effigies conceived as upright statues laid down horizontally to effigies explicitly expressing recumbency.<sup>488</sup> The absence of a sustained way of reproducing perspective and gravitation in medieval art does not mean that there is not a growing attention to an ever more naturalistic rendering of the human figure.<sup>489</sup> I have found that up to the beginning of the 14th century more and more attention was gradually paid to the horizontal position of the effigies, even though this development is often arrested by several series of formalized effigies.

As my own conclusions earlier on in this chapter link up rather

closely with the last two views, it may be a good thing to repeat them here briefly. I have shown that the early examples of cross-legged effigies showed very stiff legs without any bending of the knees and without any undercutting. Gradually the knees were bent more and soon the bending was expressed in an easy and natural way. In combination with the hands this led to the expression of rest in one group and to the expression of liveliness in another. The same difference can be seen in the examples at the end of the century. The group of the lively type of knight had a special offshoot in the effigies showing the 'lively martial attitude', while the other type kept showing the more languid expression, now oftener with the hands joined in prayer. The 'lively martial attitude' was only possible through the technical device of drawing one knee so high up that it became completely free from the other.

All this goes to show that the entire phenomenon should first of all be explained as a matter of technical development, as a mastering of a technical problem. To this can be added the artistic attention to the attitude of the effigy and especially its recumbency.

At first effigies were really upright statues laid down horizontally. The unnaturalness of this seems to have been felt strongly in England and recumbency came to be stressed more and more. Very soon the effigy was no longer seen as a statue, but as a figure lying on a slab, and ever greater realism was aimed at. Recumbency then was stressed in several ways. The cushion under the head and the falling down to the slab of the folds of the garments were some of the possibilities. The crossing of the legs, too, belongs here and I think it was a very important factor in stressing recumbency. That the expression was either one of repose or of alertness did not really matter. It was to make the figure livelier, more in agreement with reality and with life.

French effigies from the time of St. Louis onwards<sup>490</sup> did not show this tendency towards a more realistic attitude. These effigies conformed to a common type with parallel legs and hands joined in prayer, the type which in the later Middle Ages was also to prevail in England. The mostly very dignified effigies in France expressed the idea of the longing for the life hereafter.<sup>491</sup> But the rather monotonous attitude of such effigies contrasts strongly with the less idealistic, far more natural, lifelike and unconventional attitude of the English effigies of the time. What strikes us first of all on

English effigies is the great variety in attitude, and the individual solutions of depicting an effigy in a recumbent position and of representing a knight. It may be said that the English cross-legged knightly effigies are class-conscious products. The variety in attitude is a sign of the individualism of the people belonging to this class. All these 13th century effigies stress the realistic, worldly outlook of a class of people that was becoming more and more conscious of itself.<sup>492</sup>

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The need for a fresh approach to the early monumental effigies in England has recently made itself felt. A satisfactory inventory of genuine 13th century secular effigies has been lacking. Too many secular effigies are rashly assigned to the 13th century and supposed to commemorate historical persons. Much has been written on them from a biased and romantic point of view, while it has never yet been established on a scholarly basis what specimens truly belong to this first age of secular effigy-making in England. The now surviving monuments have to be taken as they are, putting aside all prejudices of former authors on the subject. Such a novel approach requires detailed stylistic analysis of all remaining funerary effigies, an analysis that should be complemented by a critical evaluation of the other methods of describing effigies, enabling us to amass as much evidence as possible. A study of all relevant aspects on such a basis may be expected to lead to a more satisfactory chronological classification.

A study based merely on the geological nature of the materials has far too weak a basis. Not only is it difficult to tell exactly what kind of stone an effigy is made of—stone from the same quarry can be very different in texture, stone from different quarries strikingly similar—but there is no style in effigy-making that is restricted to one particular kind of stone.

We have hardly any genealogical evidence as to the persons commemorated. In spite of the many efforts undertaken by art historians and antiquaries there are only a very few effigies for which the genealogical evidence is beyond doubt, and even then this is not always helpful in establishing the date of origin of a particular effigy. In a more general sense it can be said that a minority of the persons commemorated by the effigies belonged to royalty and to the peerage of the country, and that the majority, whose effigies are mostly found in village churches, were mainly of the social class of the 'knights of the shire' and their ladies. Some lady effigies refer to landowners in their own right, while civilian effigies may refer to persons that held the same functions as the 'knights of the shire' without being inheritors to a landed estate.

Furthermore, it appears that double effigies hardly exist and, that the theories on 13th century portraiture, on the ideal age of

33 years and on the open eyes have as a rule been put forward far too categorically: there are many exceptions.

Effigy-making in the 13th century is principally 'idealistic', with a gradual increase in 'realistic' aspects. The blending of 'idealistic' and 'realistic' features may be called typical of 13th century secular effigies in England.

The architectural surrounds of a tomb within a church, either in the form of a free-standing structure or of a recess in a wall, will only occasionally provide us with evidence for dating the effigies themselves. The main reason for this is that nearly all early effigies have been removed more than once, which makes it impossible for us to establish their original positions.

As regards the slabs on which the effigies are resting, practically the only way to establish their dates is to consider the presence or absence of any leaf decoration—of the stiff-leaf or of the more or less naturalistic kind. We should compare it with other leaf decorations, especially on capitals, because the development of the naturalistic leaves at the end of the century and the mere presence of stiff-leaf form strong indications as to date. The same is true, of course, of any leaf decoration near the cushion under an effigy's head or on the two or three tomb structures and recesses containing original effigies. Not all forms of leaf decoration on effigies or their tombs have yet been recorded.

Next there are the accessoires of head and foot support. Foot supports only rarely reveal a clue, though their absence sometimes points to an early date. Head supports, on the other hand, provide us with an important criterion. The occasional absence of a cushion is already significant, but it is especially whether the head support consists of one or two cushions, or of a double cushion with attendant angles, that appears to be distinctive. The single cushion is typical of the 13th century, the double cushion with attendant angels points to the 14th century.

The articles of dress and armour as depicted on effigies—the second field of study that has received so much attention from authors on effigial monuments—has proved far less useful for dating purposes within the 13th century than is generally supposed. Only rarely does an article of dress or armour, or a particular detail, point to certain date. The same kinds of costume were used throughout the 13th century and up to the first quarter of the

14th century. Garments changed their design only gradually. The style of the draperies of the gowns on lady and civilian effigies and of the surcoats on knightly ones, though hazardous to go by as an isolated criterion, is sometimes helpful as accumulating evidence, strengthening conclusions about other aspects.

A far much sounder basis is found in the attitude presented by the effigies, especially as regards the position of the hands and the legs, and combined with a description of the carving technique and the undercutting. Though the position of the hands has proved to be the more varied of the two, it is the different attitudes of both hands and legs, often complementary to each other, which, together with the carving technique, has led us to distinguish several groups of types.

An additional consequence of viewing the effigies in this more technical way was a new interpretation of the feature of the crossed legs. So far, a clear understanding of this particular feature has been hampered by a mass of personal opinions, mostly one-sided. It cannot be taken as an isolated phenomenon, but it should be seen in connection with the position of the hands and with that of the effigy as a whole. This feature, a simple carving device, was applied for many purposes, for both restful and more active types of knights, and soon became a popular cliché.

On the basis of a stylistic analysis of the hands and the legs, as outlined in the present study, the following regional and chronological grouping of secular effigies in England in the 13th century would seem possible.

First of all there is a well-definable group of effigies made of freestone and obviously connected with the sculptural school that was responsible for the west front of Wells Cathedral. The effigies which can be brought under this heading and among which the knightly figures predominate, at first show the tranquil and languid attitude of so many statues at Wells, but gradually a greater tautness in the recumbent position sets in. These effigies must date from 1230/40 to 1250/60, with the well-known figure of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral as the earliest example (pl. 3). The most striking novel characteristic of this group is the crossed legs, shown for the first time on the effigies at Shepton Mallet, Atherington and Seaborough (pls 4, 6, 8, 12).

Up to the middle of the 13th century the London School of Pur-

beck Marblers, which seems to have been responsible for the making of so many bishops' effigies, only occasionally appears to have produced secular effigies. Some isolated examples either show the high sculptural standard of the episcopal figures (the effigy of King John and one of a lady in Worcester Cathedral and a knight in London, Temple Church I; pls 28+172), or just a weak reflection of this better style (the partly preserved effigy at Bures and the earliest knight in London, Temple Church IV; pls 29+174), or evidently early borrowings from the Wells or West-Country group (especially Wareham I; pl. 16). A further sub-group could be discerned in those military effigies (e.g. at Thruxton; pl. 46) that show a strict frontality combined with a great helmet hiding the face and the sword held upright. However, each of the latter two aspects soon had a life of its own, met with throughout the century and even into the 14th century. In the military effigy with the great helmet at Kirkstead (pl. 18), to be dated c1250 on account of the stiff leaf near the cushion, the martial style is emphasized by the way in which the sword is handled.

It is especially this effigy at Kirkstead in Lincolnshire that prevents us from definitely attributing the idea of the sword-handling attitude to the same West-Country carvers who were the first to present their subjects with crossed legs. The difficulty lies in the absence of any sword-handling in the earliest cross-legged effigies, and also in the scarcity of effigies in the West Country that, following our first group of effigies, can be assigned to the third quarter of the century. Several authors have been puzzled by this gap in the development towards the common late 13th century type of knight showing the sword-handling attitude together with the crossed legs. On the strength of the effigies studied by the present author (especially those of Abbey Dore I, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Mavesyn Ridware, Draycott-in-the-Moors and a few others; pls 13-15, 25, 26) it seems justified to assume that there was indeed such a gradual development in the West Country, and that, in consequence, the gap has now been partly filled.

But the third quarter of the century is mainly dominated by a group of Purbeck marble effigies and others directly influenced by them, of which the centre of production was almost certainly London. The majority consists of military figures, which now even outnumber episcopal effigies from the same workshops. The central group with typical characteristic details, e.g. the right hand placed

flat on the chest, can be greatly extended if attention is paid to attitude and sculpturing technique. Their most remarkable aspect is the way in which they are lying down in a relaxed attitude. The great variety of the solutions found to express such an easy recumbency is very striking. Furthermore, there is the individual treatment of all kinds of detail and the accomplished carving technique. This fine group of great effigies (e.g. London Temple Church VI, Merevale, Stowe-Nine-Churches and Pershore; pls 30-32, 52) are as typical, if not more so, of the 13th century as the popularly better known and mostly later type of sword-handling, cross-legged knights. As for general quality, these effigies can hold their own not only among the great episcopal ones of the same period, but also against the dignified French examples of the time.

The last quarter of the century, our third period, shows a great increase in the number of secular effigies. Though it is difficult here to distinguish well-defined regional groups, far more so than for the earlier periods, some types of effigies can be pointed out. The sword-handling, cross-legged type of knight appears to have become the national model. It is no longer characteristic of one school or region, but more restricted to a particular period than to a special area. Also, it is a common sort of effigy, a stock type which seems to have been taken over everywhere. The sheer number of these effigies in the western regions, from Hampshire in the east to Devon in the west and from Dorset in the south to Shropshire in the north, would point to a regular development from the earlier forms of knightly effigy in the West Country, from where it spread over a great part of England, including the London region.

Within the general concept of 'sword-handling', minor variants can be pointed out. Thus, occasionally, a 'sword-sheathing', instead of a 'sword-drawing' act is represented, whereas elsewhere the sword-drawing act has been rendered with special expressiveness.

Among the knightly effigies those that are decidedly warrior-like constitute two distinct groups. First there is that of the knights carved, it seems, with difficulty from the hard Purbeck marble and showing hardly any undercutting. The overall attitude of the figure is rather stiff, greater expressiveness being confined to such details as the conspicuous twist of the right wrist. This group of knightly effigies seems to be larger than was assumed till now; it could even be argued that a number of civilian and lady effigies have their place here. Together they form a series with an attraction of their



own (e.g. the three effigies of a knight, a lady and a civilian at Winchelsea; pls 68-72); they are not the clumsy representations some authors have made them out to be. Since many of them are found along the south coast of England, a workshop thereabouts seems more plausible than in London itself.

Next, we have a group of knightly effigies showing the 'lively-martial' attitude (e.g. at Dorchester, Gloucester and London Temple Church V; 96-98), differently viewed by different authors, but showing a similar free sculpturing technique and extensive use of undercutting. The widespread opinion that they are the most typical knightly figures in England, not only of the 13th century but of the Middle Ages in general, has to be reconsidered. Not only is it a much smaller group than commonly supposed, but it is also very limited as to time, and only a few of these works may date from the end of the century.

By the side of the normal life-size effigies there are several of smaller dimensions, varying from about 60 cm. to almost life-size. When, in addition to their smaller size, these effigies show the hands joined in prayer and the legs parallel, they may be said to make up a distinct group, to be dated not earlier than the last quarter of the century. The idea that smaller effigies represent children is to be discarded, all details pointing to their commemorating adult persons (pls 114-121).

A subsequent group is formed by all those effigies that have the hands joined in prayer, among them in particular civilian and lady effigies. Gradually, cross-legged knights also have their hands in prayer, forming a type to be compared with that of the 'composed' knightly figure of the preceding period. Praying knights appear to occur earlier in the northern districts than elsewhere, while for the south they are seen emanating from the London workshops at the very end of the century.

Of other effigies with divergent attitudes of the hands, those of ladies showing one hand fingering the folds of the mantle alongside and the other holding the cord of the mantle on the breast may be taken to represent a standard 13th century type.

As for the northern districts, including Lincolnshire, it is quite unlikely that they possess more than merely a few genuine 13th century effigies. Except from a few isolated works that may have their roots elsewhere or are to be described as provincial works produced by some stray effigy-maker, most of the other effigies

here, though sometimes dated late 13th century, really belong to the early 14th century. It is then that we have the first flourishing period of effigy-making in these regions. Only a few early examples of the indigenous styles in Lincolnshire-Yorkshire as well as in the County of Durham—indicated to some extent by the nature of the stone used: soft limestone in the former regions, hard 'marble' in the latter—may date from the end of the 13th century. For this period Yorkshire effigies cannot be distinguished from Lincolnshire ones. Renewed study of these early 14th century in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire will no doubt shed more light on the earlier, late 13th century, examples as well.

Not only these effigies in the north of the beginning of the 14th century should be studied anew, but all the effigies in England traditionally dated 'c1300' and 'early 14th century' should be investigated from a fresh, unbiased point of view. A rough count points to some 250 secular effigies dated 'c1300', and to at least as many for the first quarter of the 14th century. Such a study will provide us with a better insight into the differences between the late 13th century and the following period. Unlike the evidence submitted for the middle and the third quarter of the 13th century it was not always possible to be exact about our material at the end of the century. This especially refers to the common stock-type military effigy, sword-handling and cross-legged but otherwise often of rather a stiff and undistinguished appearance.

In the home counties it is first of all the praying cross-legged type of knight, with the artist's concern for the bending of the vertical axis of the body, convincingly shown in the Crouchback figure in Westminster Abbey, that forms the end of a phase and the beginning of a new one (pls 123+126). Also the use of attendant angels of the French type proves to be conclusive. Then there is the attention paid to all kinds of details, the extent to which undercutting is made use of, and the fluctuations in carving technique which may also help to decide for a late 13th century or later date.

As more effigies have been brought together and compared here than ever before, findings may be expected to differ in some respects from current opinion. The re-grouping of the 13th century secular effigies has not only resulted in forming some clearly definable groups, but also in pushing forward the dates of a considerable number of effigies. It will be seen that I have altered many dates

attributed to effigies long ago and never revised. Sometimes, as with plate armour or long-lived printer's errors, this hardly needs any comment. As for the other effigies dealt with in the text, careful comparison with corresponding 13th century examples has resulted in new conclusions.

The 13th century appears to have been a period when, besides continuation and elaboration in the making of ecclesiastical figures, carvers began to produce secular effigies, at first in a great variety of types, but gradually restricting themselves to some stock types. It is these later workshop figures, occurring in large numbers, which in their dullness convey a monotonous impression of uninspired routine. But for the greater part of the period studied here we meet with a variety of experiments and solutions that please the eye. In this lies the main attraction of the 13th century secular effigies, even though only a very few of them have remained completely intact.

# A LIST OF 13TH CENTURY SECULAR EFFIGIES IN ENGLAND

This list gives only the most important data of the effigies. Complete descriptions of each and every effigy have not been attempted: they cannot only, for a great part, be found elsewhere, but would also have resulted in tedious repetition.

Unless otherwise stated the location of the effigies is in the parish church of the place mentioned.

In the references the number of authors has been kept to a minimum: only those are mentioned who give the most detailed descriptions or who provide a particularly important piece of information.

The following more specific abbreviations have been used:

att	= attendant
C	= century
cr l	= crossed legs/cross-legged
h	= handling/holding
l	= left/legs
r	= right
RCHM	= Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
rel	= relief
sh	= shield
str l	= straight legs
sw.	= sword
t	= technique
VCH	= Victoria County History

No	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
<i>A Knightly Effigies</i>						
1	ABBEY DORE Herefs I	1 96 m legs gone	sandstone	sw h /cr l	mid C13	pl 13 Fryer 1925, 63 Andersson 52-3
2	— — II	1 88 m head loose	sandstone	sw h /cr l	1270-80	pl 19 Fryer 1925, 64
3	ALKERTON Oxfords	2 22 m almost smooth	freestone Hornton ?	sh on chest/ str l low rel	2 <sup>nd</sup> quar- ter ? C13	Pevsner, BE Oxfords 375
4	ASHENDON Bucks.	life-size defaced	Purbeck marble	sw h /cr.l	late C13	RCHM Bucks Vol I, 15

No.	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
5	ASTON SOMMER- VILLE WORCS.	over life- size defaced	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	— —
6	ATHERINGTON Devon	1.64 m legs gone	freestone	r.hand on sw.belt/cr.l.	c.1240	pl. 6 Andersson 56-7
7	BERWICK St John Wilts.	2.00 m	Purbeck marble?	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 62
8	BISHOP'S CLEEVE Glos.	1.93 m	freestone gesso t.	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 81 Roper 1906, 232-4
9	BISHOP'S FROME Herefs.	life-size defaced	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	RCHM Herefs. Vol. II, 11a
10	BITTON Glos.	1.91 m half incised	limestone	r.hand on shield/cr.l.	mid C13	Greenhill Vol. II, fig. 46c Way 1946, 270-2
11	BLYTH Notts.	1.70 m broken	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l. helmet canopy	1250-60	pl. 42 Lawrence etc. 115
12	BOTTESFORD Leics.	0.46 m legs gone	Purbeck marble	h.heart/ cr./l.	late C13	pl. 121 Manners 269-70
13	BOTUS FLEMING Cornw.	life-size defaced	Purbeck marble?	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	— —
14	BRIDPORT Dorset	1.80 m recut	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	mid C13	RCHM Dorset Vol. I, 45
15	BRISTOL St Mark I	1.90 m	oolite	r.hand on sh./cr.l.	1270-80	Fryer 1925, 37-38 + fig. II, 2-3 Andersson 51
16	— — II	2.03 m	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	Idem
17	— St Mary Redcliffe	2.13 m	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 60 Fryer 1925, 40-2
18	BRYMPTON d'EVERY Som.	1.81 m recut	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	Fryer 1925, 66
19	BULMER Yorks.	1.25 m	freestone	praying	late C13	pl. 104 l'Anson 1926, 363-4
20	BURTON COGGLES Lincs.	1.83 m feet gone	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 82
21	CANTERBURY Cathedral	head only	freestone	— —	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	pl. 129
22	CASTLE ASHEY Northants.	2.05 m	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pls 64-5 Hartshorne 1876, 29
23	CHADDESLEIGH CORBETT WORCS.	life-size	limestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 78 Roper 1969, 23
24	CHILTON <sup>1</sup> Bucks.	life-size weathered	freestone	sw.h. ?/cr.l.	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	RCHM Bucks. I, 105
25	CLAVERING Essex	1.35 m legs gone	Purbeck ? marble	sw.h./cr.l.	1260-70	pl. 23 Chancellor 335

<sup>1</sup> Built into the outside east wall of the nave, above the roof of the chancel.

No.	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
26	COGENHOE Northants.	life-size	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	1270-80	pl. 24 Hartshorne 1876, 112
27	COVERHAM Yorks. NR	2.10 m top broken	freestone	praying/ cr.l.	late C13	pl. 105 I'Anson 1924-6, 364
28	CURRY RIVEL Som.	1.62 m legs gone	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	1280-90	pls 86-7 Fryer 1916, 76-7
29	DANBURY Essex I	2.12 m	wood	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 55 Fryer 1924, 43
30	— — II	2.02 m	wood	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 56 Fryer 1924, 43
31	DORCHESTER Oxfords.	over life-size	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 97 Stone 150
32	DOWN AMPNEY Glos.	1.96 m	limestone?	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 79 Fryer 1925, 63
33	DRAYCOT CERNE Wilts.	2.30 m	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 80 Aubrey 229
34	DRAYCOTT-IN- THE-MOORS Staffs.	2.08 m	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	1260-70	pl. 25 Jeavons 24
35	EAST TUDDENHAM Norf.	1.62 m	freestone	h.heart/ str.l.	late C13	pl. 114 Rye 13-4
36	EASTWICK Herts.	life-size	Purbeck marble	r.hand on chest/cr.l.	1250-60	pl. 33 RCHM Herts. 87
37	ELTISLEY Cambs.	1.46 m legs gone defaced	freestone	sw./cr.l.	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	RCHM Cambs. I, 92
38	EXETER <sup>a</sup> Cathedral	head only	freestone	— —	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	Prior & Gardner fig. 686 Fryer 1925, 62
39	FARNBOROUGH Warws.	head only	freestone	— —	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	pl. 130
40	FAULKBORNE Essex	2.16 m defaced	Purbeck marble	sh. on chest helmet/cr.l. low rel.	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	pl. 47 Hills 253-5
41	FURNESS Lancs. I	life-size	limestone gesso t.?	r.hand h. sw. upright/ cr.l.	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	pl. 49 Bower 433
42	— — II	life-size	limestone gesso t.?	r.hand h. sw. upright/ cr.l.	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	idem
43	GEDNEY Lincs.	1.20 m trunk only	freestone	cr.l.	late C13	pl. 91
44	GLOUCESTER Cathedral	1.78 m	wood	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 96 Fryer 1925, 82-3; Andersson 70

<sup>a</sup> Not found at the time of my visit in 1977.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Place-name</i>	<i>Length/ state</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Special features</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>References</i>
45	GONALSTON Notts.	1.44 m head gone	freestone	praying cr.l.	late C13	pl. 106 Lawrence etc. 117
46	GOXHILL Lincs.	1.85 m recut	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 90 Bonney 79
47	GREAT HASELEY Oxfords. I	2.25 m	oolite	r.hand h. sw. at side/ cr.l.	1260-70	pl. 45 Fryer 1925, 138
48	— — II	1.61 m trunk only defaced	Purbeck ? marble	sw.h. ?/ cr.l.	1260-70	pl. 39 — —
49	GREAT MALVERN Worcs.	2.41 m	freestone	r.hand h. axe/str.l. low rel.	1250-60	Fryer 1925, 67
50	HATFIELD Herts.	1.25 m defaced	freestone ?	r.hand h. sw. upright/ str.l. low. rel.	mid C13	pl. 48 RCHM Herts. 53
51	HITCHIN Herts.	1.72 m head gone defaced	Purbeck marble	r.hand on chest/cr.l.	1260-70	pl. 34 Tr. of St. Albans Arch. & Archaeol. Soc. 26-30
52	HORSTEAD KEYNES Suss.	0.69 m	freestone	praying/ cr.l.	late C13	pl. 117 Walford 1853, 128 ff.
53	HORTON Dorset	1.90 m	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 67 Hutchins III, 157; Drury 1929, 183 ff.
54	HURSTPIERPONT Suss.	2.04 m broken	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 66 Mosse 116-7
55	IDDESLEIGH Devon	1.97 m	freestone	r.hand on sh./cr.l.	mid C13	pl. 7 Fryer 1925, 45; Andersson 48-9
56	INKPEN Berks.	1.50 m legs gone defaced	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13 ?	VCH Berks. IV, 204-5
57	JERVAULX Yorks.	lower half gone	sandstone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 102 I'Anson 1924-6, 366
58	KEMBLE Glos.	life-size defaced	limestone ?	sw.h./cr.l. canopy low rel.	late C13	Roper 1910, 123-4
59	KINGSDON Som.	1.90 m	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 59 Fryer 1925, 66
60	KIRKSTEAD Lincs.	1.60 m legs gone	Purbeck ? marble	sw.h./str.l. helmet	1250	pl. 18 Hartshorne 1883, 296-300
61	KIRTON-IN- LINDSEY Lincs.	1.94 m defaced	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 99

<i>No</i>	<i>Place-name</i>	<i>Length/ state</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Special features</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>References</i>
62	LAXTON Notts	1 79 m	freestone	sw h /cr l	late C13 <sup>2</sup>	Lawrence etc 1924, 118
63	LEWES Sussex	0 84 m trunk only	Purbeck ? marble	r hand on chest	1260-70	pl 36 Figg 1843, 79-81
64	LITTLE EASTON Essex	0 67 m	freestone	praying/ str l	late C13	pl 116 Chancellor 80
65	LITTLE HORKSLEY Essex	2 20 m defaced	wood	praying/ cr	late C13	pl 124 Fryer 1924, 81
66	LONDON South- wark Cathedral	1 99 m	wood recut	sw h /cr	late C13	pl 125 Fryer 1924, 104
67	— Temple Church I <sup>3</sup>	1 85 m restored	Sussex ? marble	r hand at r holding sw / str l	mid C13	pl 28 Richardson 1843, 184, RCHM Lon- don IV, 140-1 Esdaile, 63-8
68	— — II	1 80 m restored	sandstone (Reigate)	sw h /cr l	late C13	pl 28 idem
69	— — III	1 70 m restored	Purbeck marble	r hand on chest/cr l 'bearskin'	1250-60	pl 29 idem
70	— — IV	1 75 m restored	Purbeck marble	r hand on chest/cr l 'Balacclava'	2 <sup>nd</sup> quarter C13	pl 29 idem
71	— — V	1 65 m restored	sandstone (Reigate)	sw h /cr l	late C13	pl 98 idem
72	— — VI	1 70 m restored	Sussex ? marble	r hand on chest/cr l	1260-70	pl 30 idem
73	— — VII	1 75 m restored	Purbeck marble	praying/ cr l	1250-60	pl 27 idem
74	— — VIII	1 75 m restored	Purbeck marble	both hands crossed on chest/cr l leather corf	1250-60	pl 27 idem
75	— Westminster Abbey To Edmund Crouchback	life-size	freestone gesso t	praying/ cr l canopy & tombchest	late C13	pls 123, 126 and 139 Burgess, 162-4 Lethaby 1906 passim River 1910, 55-6, RCHM London I, 22-4, Stone 145-7
76	— — To William de Valence	life-size	wood with copper plates	praying/ str l tombchest	late C13	pl 122 Burgess 155-6, Lethaby 1906, 292-3 RCHM London I, 43-4 Fryer 1924, 90

<sup>3</sup> The order from 1 to 8 is from the south-west to the north-east



No	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
77	LONG CLAWSON Leics	life-size defaced	freestone	praying ?/ cr l	late C13 ?	Nichols 134
78	LONG WITTENHAM Berks	0 65 m defaced	freestone	r hand h sw upright/ cr l, recess	late C13	pls 50-1 Crossley 1921, 280-1
79	MAMBLE Worcs	1 65 m	freestone	both hands on hips/cr l helmet	late C13	pls 94-5 Humphreys 32-3
80	MAUTBY Norf	2 10 m	Purbeck marble	r hand on sh /cr l	1250-70	pl 54 Rye 11-2
81	MAVFSYN RID- WARE Staffs	2 05 m restored recut	freestone	sw h /str l	1250-60	pl 26 Shaw 192, Jeavons 23
82	MEREVALE Warws	life-size head & legs gone	oolite	r hand on chest/cr l	1260-70	pl 31 Chatwin 1921, 40-1
83	MONKTON FAR- LEIGH Wilts I	1 96 m	freestone	r hand on chest/cr l sh on chest low rel	1250-60	pl 40 Wilts Mag 1858, 283-4
84	— — II	2 16 m broken	freestone	praying/ cr l sh on chest low rel	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	pl 41 — —
85	— — III	3 pieces of trunk	freestone ?	r hand on chest/cr l	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	pl 38 Wilts Mag 1858, 283-4
86	— — IV	head only	freestone	closed eyes	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter	pl 128
87	MUCH COWARNE Herefs	legs & r arm gone	freestone	sw h /cr l	late C13	pl 85 RCHM Herefs II, 95a
88	NETLEY Hants	0 60 m legs gone	Purbeck marble	praying/ cr l	late C13	pl 120
89	NETTELCOMBE Som	1 91 m	oolite	sw h /cr l	late C13	pl 88 Fryer 1925, 53
90	NEWTON LONGUF- VILLIE Bucks	head only	freestone	— —	late C13	pl 131
91	NEWTON SOLNEY Derbys	1 64 m head gone	freestone	l hand on chest/str l	1260-70	pl 44 Lawrence etc 1924, 95-7
92	NORTH WING- FIELD Derbys	1 96 m defaced	freestone	praying/ cr l	late C13 ?	Lawrence etc 1924, 102-5
93	OLD SODBURY Glos I	1 83 m recut	oolite	r hand on chest/cr l sh on chest low rel	mid C13	Fryer 1925, 63
94	— — II	1 68 m defaced	wood	sw h ?/cr l	late C13	Fryer 1924, 48

<i>No.</i>	<i>Place-name</i>	<i>Length/ state</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Special features</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>References</i>
95	ORTON LONGUE- VILLE Hunts.	2.07 m broken r.leg gone	freestone	praying/ cr.l.	late C13	RCHM Hunts. 193
96	PENSHURST Kent	1.12 m legs gone	Purbeck marble	sw.h.	late C13	pl. 61
97	PERSHORE Worcs.	1.70 m legs gone	freestone (Cotswold)	r.hand on hip holding horn/cr.l.	1270-80	pl. 52 Fryer 1925, 58 Andersson 53-4
98	PERTENHALL Bedfords.	1.75 m defaced	freestone gesso	praying/ cr.l.	late C13 ?	pl. 113 VCH Bedfords. III, 156
99	PICKHILL Yorks. NR	1.62 m legs gone	freestone	praying/ cr.l.	late C13	l'Anson 1924-6, 371-2
100	PITCHFORD Shrops.	2.14 m	wood	sw.h./cr.l.	1280-90	pls. 57-8 Fryer 1924, 99- 100; Watkins 186-97
101	PITTINGTON C. Durham	1.88 m	Frosterley marble	r.hand h. sw. upright/ cr.l.; helmet	late C13	pl. 108 Blair 1929, 12
102	PORLOCK Som.	2.05 m	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 89 Fryer 1916, 81-2
103	RAMPTON Cambs.	life-size	freestone gesso t.	sw.h./cr.l.	1270-90	pl. 22 Stothard XX
104	ROSTHERNE Cheshire	2.03 m	sandstone	sw.h./str.l. low rel.	late C13	pl. 92 Blair 1948, 125
105	RUSHTON Northants.	1.98 m	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	1270-90	pl. 21 Hartshorne 1878, 16
106	SALISBURY Cathedral I	2.05 m	freestone (Doulting)	r.hand on hip/str.l.	1230-40	pls 3 and 10 Andersson 48 + 74 Stone 115
107	— — II	2.02 m	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 63 Planché 1859, 12-6
108	SAMPFORD BRETT Som.	1.90 m defaced	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	Fryer 1925, 67
109	SANDWICH Kent	1.70 m	Purbeck marble	praying/ str.l. sh. on chest canopy	1250-60	pl. 43 Drury 1948, 90
110	SEABOROUGH Dorset	1.30 m defaced	sandstone	r.hand on sh./cr.l. helmet	1240-50	pl. 8 Drury 1955, 86-7
111	SEFTON Lancs.	life-size	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 93 Caroë etc. 39-43
112	SHAFTESBURY Dorset (Museum) <sup>4</sup>	head only	Purbeck marble ?	—	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	RCHM Dorset IV (1972)

<sup>4</sup> In the same museum there are a few other fragments of effigies.

No.	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
113	SHEPTON MALLET Som. I	1.94 m; r. leg gone	freestone (Doulting)	r.hand on sh./cr.l.	1240-50	pls 4 and 127 Fryer 1916, 83-4 Andersson 48-9
114	— — II	1.95 m	freestone (Doulting)	r.hand a- longside/cr.l.	mid C13	pls 11-2 idem
115	SHREWSBURY Holy Cross Abbey I	2.24 m head gone	freestone	sw.h./str.l.	1250-60	pl. 15 Andersson 52-3
116	— — II	1.86 m defaced	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 77 Cranage 889
117	SOTHERTON Suffolk	2.10 m	freestone	r.hand a- longside/ str.l.	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	pl. 53 — —
118	STAUNTON-IN- THE-VALE Notts.	1.56 m trunk only	freestone	sw.h. ?/cr.l.	late C13	pl. 83 Lawrence etc. 1924, 119
119	STOCKERSTON Leics.	1.51 m legs gone	freestone	h. heart ? str.l.	late C13	pl. 119 Nichols II-2, 823
120	STOCK GAYLARD Dorset	1.74 m	oolite gesso t.	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 84 Drury 1929, 187. RCHM Dorset II- 2, 178
121	STOWE-NINE- CHURCHES Northants.	life-size	Purbeck marble	r.hand on chest/cr.l.	1260-70	pl. 32 Baker I, 449
122	SUBBOROUGH Northants.	life-size restored	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 112 Hartshorne 1876, 7
123	SULLINGTON Sussex	1.73 m gone from ankles	Purbeck marble	sw.h. ?/cr.l.	1270-80	pl. 35 Andersson 49-50
124	TENBURY WELLS Worcs.	0.80 m	freestone	h. heart ? str.l.	late C13	pl. 118 Humphreys 31
125	THRUXTON Hants.	2.04 m defaced	Purbeck marble	r.hand h. sw. upright/ str.l. sh. on chest low rel.	2 <sup>nd</sup> quarter C13	pl. 46 VCH Hants. IV, 390
126	TICKENHAM Som I	1.96 m	oolite	r.hand on hip/cr.l.	mid C13	pl. 5 Fryer 1925, 53
127	— — II	1.88 m	oolite	sw h./cr.l.	late C13	Fryer 1925, 54
128	TILTON Leics.	2.05 m	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pl. 101 Nichols IV-I, 471
129	TOPPESFIELD <sup>5</sup> Essex	life-size half incised	Purbeck marble ?	r.hand h. sw. upright ? /cr.l. sh. on chest	mid ? C13	Hills 1945, 259-61
130	TREETON Yorks. WR	1.39 m defaced legs gone	freestone	sw.h. ?	late C13	pl. 107 — —

<sup>5</sup> The effigy now lies hidden below the organ.

No.	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
131	TRENTHAM PARK Staffs.	0.70 m trunk only	freestone	both hands on chest h. helmet/cr.l.	late C13?	Jeavons 22
132	TWYFORD Bucks.	2.24 m r.leg gone	Purbeck marble	r.hand on chest/cr.l. helmet	1260-70	pl. 37 RCHM Bucks. II, 305
133	UPTON SCUDA- MORE Wilts.	1.66 m trunk only	freestone	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	— — VCH Wilts. VIII, 88
134	WALKERN Herts.	2.27 m	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l. helmet	1260-70	pl. 20 RCHM Herts. 224 Andrews 53
135	WALTHAM CROSS ABBAY, Essex	head only	Purbeck marble	— —	2 <sup>nd</sup> half C13	pl. 132
136	WAREHAM Dorset I	2.02 m defaced	Purbeck marble	r.hand on hip ?/cr.l.	mid C13	pl. 16 Fryer 1925, 62 Drury 1938, 90-4
137	— — II	1.79 m defaced	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	RCHM Dorset II-3, 308b
138	WELTON Yorks.	life-size	Purbeck marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	I'Anson 1924-6, 368
139	WHITWORTH C. Durham	1.91 m	sandstone	r.hand h. sw. upright/ cr.l.; low rel.	late C13	pl. 109 Blair 1929, 14
140	WICKHAMPTON Norfolk	1.65 m	freestone	h.heart str.l.	late C13	pl. 115 Rye, 15
141	WINCHELSEA Sussex	2.08 m	Sussex marble	sw.h./cr.l.	late C13	pls 68-70 VCH Sussex IX, 74
142	WOODFORD Northants.	1.83 m	wood	praying/ cr.l.	late C13?	Fryer 1925, 96 Stone 147
143	WORCESTER Cathedral	1.92 m	oolite	sw.h./cr.l.	1250-60	pl. 14 Wild 21. Fryer 1925, 58

*B. Lady Effigies*

144	ASH Kent	1.82 m	Purbeck marble	praying	late C13	pls 74-5
145	AXMINSTER Devon	1.79 m	freestone	h.image of Virgin	late C13	pl. 148 Stabb II, 3
146	BARTON BLOUNT Derbys.	c.1.50 m	freestone	h.heart	late C13	pl. 149
147	BERKELEY Glos.	under life- size	freestone	h.heart	late C13	Fryer 1923-4, 46
148	BOBBINGTON Staffs.	1.59 m	feet gone	r.hand on chest/l.on hip h. shield?	late C13?	Jeavons 20
149	BRADFORD ON AVON, Wilts.	bust only 0.41 x 0.53 m	freestone	praying	late C13	pl. 153 Drury 1929, 191-2

No.	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
150	CHICHESTER Sussex	1.98 m defaced	freestone	praying att.angels tomb-chest	late C13	pls 133 and 135 and 137 VCH Sussex III, 144 Fryer 1917, 16
151	CURRY RIVEL Som.	1.10 m defaced	oolite	praying	1280-90	
152	DARLINGTON C. Durham	1.71 m head gone defaced	sandstone	r.hand at neck/l.h. book ?	late C13	pls 159 and 161 Hodgson 1915, 61 ff. Blair 1828, 38 pls 141 and 145
153	DENHAM Suffolk	1.43 m	freestone	h.heart att.angels	late C13	
154	DROXFORD Hants.	2.01 m	Purbeck ? marble	l.hand at neck/r.h. up mantle	late C13	pl. 73 VCH Hants. III, 287
155	ELTISLEY Cambs.	2.05 m broken defaced	freestone	l.hand at neck/r. at side	late C13	RCHM Cambs. I, 92
156	FOY Herefs. I	c.1.00 m defaced	freestone	praying + h.object	late C13	RCHM Herefs. I, 66
157	— — II	1.01 m broken defaced	freestone	l.hand at neck/r. on stomach	late C13	idem
158	GAYTON Northants.	life-size recut	freestone	l.hand at neck/r.h. up mantle	late C13	pl. 162 Baker II, 282; Hartshorne 1901, 399
159	GLOUCESTER St. Mary Mag- dalene	1.54 m	freestone	both hands on stomach h.object	late C13	pl. 168 Roper 1908, 226
160	GONALSTON Notts.	1.65 m	freestone	h.object canopy	1290-1300	pl. 152 Westmacott 1849, 5-12
161	HORTON Dorset	1.90 m defaced hands gone	oolite	praying ? canopy	late C13	Hutchins III, 157 Drury 1929, 190
162	KIRKLEATHAM Yorks. NR	1.88 m broken defaced	freestone	h.heart low rel.	late C13	pl. 151 VCH Yorks. NR II, 379
163	LONDON, West- minster Abbey. To: Aveline de Forz d. 1274	life-size defaced	freestone	praying att.angels canopy & tomb-chest	1290-1300	pls 134, 136 and 138 Ayloffe 4-8 Burgess 161-2 Prior & Gardner 642-5
164	— — To: Queen Eleanor of Castile d. 1290	life-size	bronze made by William Torel	l.hand at neck/r. over r. hip tomb-chest	1291-3	pl. 160 Lovell 37-42 Brown 479-82

No.	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
165	LYONSHALL Herefs.	life-size head gone	freestone	l.hand on chest/r.h. up mantle	1280-90	pl. 164 RCHM Herefs. III, 142
166	MEMBURY Devon	1.80 m	freestone	praying	late C13	Rogers 1872, 69
167	MILBORNE PORT Som.	1.73 m broken defaced	oolite	praying	late C13	Fryer 1918, 42
168	MONKTON FAR- LEIGH, Wilts.	2.12 m broken	freestone	h.heart	3 <sup>rd</sup> quar- ter? C13	pl. 166
169	NEWTON BY TOFT Lincs. To: 'Eleine'	0.60 m	freestone	praying	late C13	Bonney 61
170	RAND Lincs.	life-size recut	freestone	praying att.angels sh. on chest	1280-90	pl. 143 Pevsner, BE Lincs. 339
171	ROMSEY Hants.	life-size	Purbeck marble	l.hand at neck/r.h. up mantle att.angels canopy	1270-80	pl. 158 Drury 1948, 91
172	SEAGRY Wilts.	1.58 m	freestone	h.heart	late C13	pl. 150 Aubrey 282
173	SOPLEY Hants.	life-size broken defaced	Purbeck marble	praying? canopy	1280-90	VCH Hants. IV, 131
174	STOCKLINCH, Som.	1.68 m	freestone	praying	late C13?	Fryer 1917, 19
175	TIDESWELL Derbys.	1.47 m defaced	freestone	praying low rel.	late C13	pl. 167 Pevsner, BE Derbys. 236
176	TILTON Leics.	1.98 m restored & recut	freestone	r.hand at neck/l. at side	late C13	pl. 169 Nichols 1, 78
177	TYNEMOUTH C. Durham	life-size defaced	sandstone	praying canopy	late C13	pl. 156 Blair 1930, 19
178	WELSH BICKNOR Herefs.	2.12 m defaced	freestone	l.hand at neck/r.h. up mantle att.angels	1280-90	pls 142 and 146 RCHM Herefs. II, 248
179	WEST LEAKE Notts.	life-size	freestone	l.hand at neck/r.h. up mantle canopy & shafts	1280-90	pl. 163 Bloxam 1869, 2
180	WHITWORTH C. Durham	1.77 m defaced	sandstone	praying	late C13	Blair 1929, 37
181	WICKHAMPTON Norfolk	1.65 m	freestone	praying	late C13	pl. 155 Cautley 265

No	Place-name	Length/ state	Material	Special features	Date	References
182	WINCHELSEA Sussex	2.08 m	Sussex ? marble	l hand at neck/r h up mantle	late C13	pls 68 and 72 VCH Sussex IX, 74
183	WINTERBOURNE BASSETT, Wilts	1.77 m broken	freestone	husband & wife h r hands/ l hands on chest	late C13	pl 185 Hollaender 386-90
184	WISTOW Yorks NR To 'Margery'	1.57 m	freestone	praying canopy & shafts	late C13	pls 170-1 — —
185	WOLFERLOW Herefs	life size	freestone	praying att angels	1280-90	pls 144 and 147 RCHM Herefs II, 219
186	WOODFORD Northants	1.78 m	wood	praying	late C13	Fryer 1924, 96 Stone 147
187	WORCESTER Cathedral	1.90 m	Purbeck marble	r hand at neck/l h up mantle	mid C13	pl 157 Wild 20 Hutchinson 27
<i>C Civilian Effigies</i>						
188	BRISTOL St James	1.78 m	freestone (Doulting)	r hand at neck/l at side	1250-60	pl 177 Roper 1904, 71-4
189	BURES, Suffolk St Stephen To 'Albericus de Ver'	1.76 m broken	freestone	low rel	1 <sup>st</sup> quar- ter ? C13	pl 174 Hills 252
190	COMPTON MARTIN Som	2.01 m defaced repainted	has lime- stone	l hand on chest/r at side h sw low rel	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter C13	pl 176 Fryer 1918, 40
191	CURRY RIVEL Som III	1.04 m	oolite	praying	1280-90	pl 179 Fryer 1917, 15
192	— — IV	1.11 m lower part broken	oolite	praying	1280-90	Fryer 1917, 16
193	DARTMOUTH Devon	life-size	Purbeck marble	praying	late C13 ?	Andersson 56
194	EGGINTON Derbys	2.07 m defaced	freestone	h heart (or sh ?)	late C13	pl 175
195	GAYTON Staffs	1.78 m defaced	freestone	h heart ?	late C13	pl 180 Jeavons 19
196	HATFORD Berks	2.08 m defaced	freestone	h heart (or cup ?)	late C13	pl. 181 VCH Berks IV, 462
197	HEREFORD Cathedral	life-size head gone	freestone	praying ?	late C13	RCHM Herefs I, 109 Pevsner, BE Herefs 162

<i>No.</i>	<i>Place-name</i>	<i>Length/ state</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Special features</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>References</i>
198	LLANGARRON Herefs.	c.0.70 m	freestone	hands cr. on stomach	late C13	pl. 182 RCHM Herefs. I, 168
199	LONDON, West- minster Abbey To: King Henry III	life-size	bronze by William Torel	hands h. 2 attributes (gone) canopy (gone)	1291	pl. 173 Burgess 147-51 Brown 479
200	LONG ASHTON Som. I	2.00 m defaced	oolite	praying	late C13	Fryer 1918, 41
201	— — II	2.06 m defaced	oolite	praying	late C13	pl. 184 Fryer 1918, 42
202	NEWTON BY TOFT Lincs. To: 'William'	0.73 m	freestone	praying	late C13	Bonney 61
203	PAULTON Som.	1.92 m	lias lime- stone	praying/ str.l. sh. & sw. capony	late C13	pl. 178 Fryer 1916, 32-3
204	PILTON Som.	1.58 m almost smooth	freestone (Doulting)	l.hand on chest/r. at side; canopy	late C13	Fryer 1919, 46
205	PLYMOUTH Devon St. Andrew	life-size defaced	Purbeck ? marble	praying low rel.	late C13	Rogers 1878, 509
206	SEAVINGTON St. Michael, Som.	1.97 m	oolite	praying	late C13	pl. 183 Fryer 1918, 43
207	SOPLEY Hants.	1.70 m lower part gone	Purbeck marble	praying canopy	1280-90	pl. 76 VCH Hants. IV, 131
208	WEST LEAKE Notts.	1.75 m defaced	freestone	r.hand on chest/l. at side; canopy low rel.	3 <sup>rd</sup> quar- ter? C13	Bloxam 1869, 1
209	WILTON Wilts. St. Peter	1.23 m recut	Purbeck marble	hands cr. on chest	late C13	Pevsner, BE Wilts. 516
210	WINCHELSEA Sussex	1.99 m	Sussex ? marble	praying	late C13	pl. 71 VCH Sussex IX, 74
211	WINTERBOURNE BASSETT Wilts.	1.77 m broken	freestone	husband & wife h.r. hands/l. hands on chest; canopy	late C13	pl. 185 Hollaender 386-90
212	WITHYCOMBE Som.	1.43 m	oolite	h.heart	late C13	Fryer 1917, 20
213	WORCESTER Cathedral To: King John d. 1216	1.55 m	Purbeck marble	l.hand on hilt/r.h. sceptre (gone) att.saints	1225-30	pl. 172 Wild 18-20 Hutchinson 25-6 Andersson 58-62



## NOTES

1. Bauch 1976, 5.
2. Attention was drawn to this fact by Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, 114
3. Gardner 1931, 347 and id. 1946-7, 20, Long 1925, 21, and Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, 112
4. Pevsner in *L'Europe Gothique* Catalogue d'Exposition, Paris 1968, XXXIV.
5. Pevsner, BE South and West Somerset 1958, 52.
6. For illustrations see Sauerlander 1970, plates 115-7. A good example of a French knightly effigy is found in 'The Cloisters', New York. Ronimer 1963<sup>3</sup>, 96 and fig 43.
7. Mainly, of course, the Gaignières drawings, recently published in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th Series Vol. 84 (1974), pp 1-192
8. Pevsner in *L'Europe Gothique* Catalogue d'Exposition, Paris 1968, XXXVI-XXXVII has pointed to other original aspects—wooden effigies and the Decorated style in architecture—in English medieval art of about the same period
9. See mainly Bauch 1976, 54-8. The Fontevault tombs do not belong to English Medieval sculpture: cf Boase 1971, 1-10
10. For the effigies from Josaphat, now at Lèves, see Sauerlander 1964, 47-60, and Bauch 1976, 65-7. The two effigies at St Denis and at Jouarre are illustrated by Bauch 1976, plates 103 + 157 (not 156 as erroneously stated).
11. Also pointed out by Gardner 1951<sup>2</sup>, 1. For the intimate connections between France and England in this century see Verdier a.o., *Art and the Courts France and England from 1259 to 1328*. Exhibition Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, 1972. Sculpture has really got too small a place in it.
12. Leeuwenberg 1968, 1-5.
13. Bauch 1976, 19, and Bouvy 1947, 5
14. Bauch 1976, 106 and note 232
15. Bauch 1976, 11-31
16. Reitzenstein 1965, 73-91.
17. See the articles by Valkeneer 1963, 1970, 1972 and 1973
18. Spanish funerary monuments have their special accents, as e.g. in the elaborate, extra scenes depicted on the sides of the tomb chests and against the wall above the chests. they should be better known and deserve further study. As for the small group of cross-legged effigies see Anton 1923, 188-99 and 229-36; and further below chapter 4 pag 123
19. Crossley 1921, 180 + 226
20. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England* Section II Semi-Effigial Monuments, 1845, 119-57: on page 120 three varieties are mentioned. Earnshaw 1969, 33-44 describes a regional group of coffin slabs including semi-effigial ones
21. Brydall, 'Monumental effigies of Scotland from the 13th to the 15th century', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* no 29 (1894-5), 392-410
22. See below note 139
23. Mainly the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, National

Monuments Record, Fortress House, 23 Saville Row, London W1X 1AB, and University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 20 Portman Square, London W1.

24. Prior and Gardner 1912, 105-6 and 546-7.
25. Foremost among them the drawings by C. A. Stothard 1817: see R. Knowles 1978, 42-3.
26. Cf. D. Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, 1948, 294 (mentioned by Brieger 1957, 143); see also Bauch 1976, 81.
27. Stone, 1955, 114.
28. See e.g. A. Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, 1946, 13.
29. Two examples clearly showing how unconvincing an actual attribution can be are the two following articles: Galpin 1893, 235-7 and Wood 1955, 130-7 + 144, both ending, after several pages, in stating that nothing is definite but only 'highly probable'.
30. Stone 1955, 114-5. Måle 1949 (1st edition 1908), 396-7 already pointed to the 13th century as a great age for erecting monuments in honour of people long dead.
31. Brown 1963, 481-2.
32. Fryer 1923-4, 59.
33. The series at Wells has been described very well: Robinson 1913, 95-112, and Fryer 1915, 18-30. The series at Hereford, of the beginning of the 14th century, seems to be less known: apparently unknown to Wright 1966, 98, while Bauch 1976, 85 mentions, next to the series at Wells, a series at Chichester, which, however, does not exist. But see Bloxam, *Notices* 1877, 10-7, and id. 1877, 406 ff.
34. Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, 120 + 161.
35. Even the recent work, P. E. Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, Ipswich 1976, is almost exclusively filled with remarks on dress and on genealogy.
36. C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Medieval Effigies in the County of Durham', in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 6 (1929), 1-51; and id. 'Medieval Effigies in Northumberland', in id. 7 (1930), 1-19 ff.
37. I'Anson, 'The Medieval Military Effigies in Yorkshire', in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 28 (1924-26), 245-79; and id., 'Some Yorkshire Effigies', in id. 27 (1923-24), 117-39.
38. Mann 1929, 231-5, and Stone 1955, 257 (note 88).
39. The two rather similar effigies at West Tanfield, Yorks. and Ripplingale, Lincs. have been described, but never compared; see below note 395. Even Fryer 1923-4, in his study on effigies in the Bristol area overlooked the obviously Wells influenced effigy at Seaborough, farther away in the County of Dorset.
40. See Prior and Gardner 1912, 547 (note 1).
41. A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture*, Cambridge 1935. A second, revised and enlarged, edition was published in 1951, which has been photographically reprinted by Hacker Art Books, New York in 1973.
42. From Gardner 1951<sup>2</sup>, 162 (note 4) it appears that many effigies were not known to him.
43. Prior and Gardner 1912, 548.
44. See mainly id., 545-67.
45. Said by Dodwell 1957, 61 in his review of Stone 1955.
46. Stone 1955, 155.
47. Stone 1955, 155 and 250-1 (note 14).

48. Andersson 1950, 15-90, and especially 54 (note 2) for criticizing Prior and Gardner's dates.
49. The difference between chronologically or regionally defined groups was touched upon by Saunders 1932, 204 and Andersson 1950, 30 + 54-5 in connection with Wells.
50. For a general survey of Purbeck marble see Drury 1948, 74-98, and Vellacott 1908, 331-8.
51. Prior and Gardner 1912, 572-4.
52. Vellacott 1908, 334.
53. For the question Corfe-London see Stone 1955, 98-9. It is not quite clear whether the quarries were the King's property or not: Vellacott 1908, 334, and Prior and Gardner 1912, 571 (note 1).
54. Seen by e.g. Andersson 1950, 56. See also below chapter 4 page 96. Several names of marblers that moved from Corfe to London are given by Drury 1948, 96.
55. First noticed by Andersson 1950, 57-62: see Stone 1955, 251 (note 24).
56. See mainly Crossley 1921, 25.
57. This will become clear in the course of chapter 4 below.
58. These and other reasons for the decline of Purbeck marble are given by Drury 1948, 95.
59. Compiled mainly from Crossley 1921 25 + 178-80, and Prior and Gardner 1912, 550 + 614-6.
60. There are, however, also late 13th century and early 14th century effigies made of this kind of stone: see Fryer 1919, 30 + 46 (effigies of a lady and a civilian at Pilton), and Fryer 1920, 28 + 30-6 (several effigies of ecclesiastics).
61. For the importance of Portland stone in later times see Vellacott 1908, 336 ff. For a series of Chilwark heads, next to a series of Purbeck marble heads, in Salisbury Cathedral see Whittingham 1972, 8-9.
62. An account of alabaster effigies has been given by A. Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England*, Cambridge 1940<sup>2</sup>.
63. See Pevsner, *BE Yorkshire, The North Riding* 1966, 76. For illustrations of the effigies at Bedale and Hanbury see Prior and Gardner 1912, figs. 692 and 725 respectively.
64. See especially Goodall 1975, XI.
65. All wooden effigies have been listed by A. C. Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 1924<sup>2</sup>.
66. Prior and Gardner 1912, 664.
67. Fryer 1923-4, 23.
68. Pevsner in *L'Europe Gothique*. Catalogue d'Exposition, Paris 1968, XXXVII.
69. Such a study is advised by Stone 1955, 251 (last paragraph of note 14).
70. Vellacott 1908, 333.
71. Drury 1948, 89.
72. As e.g. the regular shiploads of Purbeck marble from Corfe to London: see Vellacott 1908, passim; see also Stone 1955, 99. The three knightly effigies, cross-legged, at Laxton (one of the 13th century) are said to be of Mansfield limestone from France (cf. Stevenson 1902, 16): Can this be true?
73. Whittingham 1972, 8.
74. Thus the difference between e.g. the Purbeck marble effigies at Abbotsbury (an abbot) and Eastwick (a knight) is very great indeed. The statues on the front of Wells Cathedral, of Doultling stone, also differ considerably in grain texture, and, consequently, in state of preservation.

75. A. C. Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies Made by Bristol Craftsmen, 1240-1550', in *Archaeologia* 74 (1923-4), 1-72.
76. Stone 1955, 251 (note 14).
77. In general see Crossley 1921, 38-41.
78. Drury 1948, 92; see also Fryer 1918, 33.
79. For the heated discussion as to whether this effigy was originally gilt or coloured see Wild 1823, 18-20, Cox 1897, 255, Wilson 1914, 485-98, Hutchinson 1943, 25-6, and the convincing colour plate in Stothard 1817.
80. Richardson 1843, 25.
81. For Ashendon: *RCHM Buckinghamshire* Vol. 1 (1912), 15; Curry Rivel: Andersson 1950, 47 (note 2); Lewes: Figg 1846, 79-81 and id. 1853, 43-4; Pitchford: Watkins 1949-50, 191; Salisbury: Prior and Gardner 1912, 607. This effigy was recently restored by Ann Balantyne under direction of Clive Rose, and a coloured drawing was made, which is now on show in the Cathedral; Tilton: Brief History of the Church 1966, page 5 (a pamphlet to the church). The traces of paint can indeed still be detected. Woodford: Hartshorne in *VCH Northamptonshire*, Vol. I, 1901, 401.
82. The colours on the effigy at Compton Martin were applied a century ago: Fryer 1918, 32-3 + 40. Some bishops' effigies, of course, also show traces of colour: see e.g. Fryer 1919, 53.
83. C. A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, London 1817-32.
84. See Prior and Gardner 1912, 624; Fryer 1923-4, 24, and I' Anson 1924-6, 251, the latter author mentioning a date of 'c1260' for the introduction of gesso.
85. See Plenderleith and Maryon 1959, 87-8.
86. Brown 1963, 479 + 81.
87. Wild 1823, 18-20.
88. For the Westminster tombs see mainly *RCHM London* Volume I 1924, 22-4; 24-5 and 43-4 respectively; for the Longespée effigy see Planché 1859, 124-5. The traditional attribution of the second knightly effigy in Salisbury Cathedral to William Longespée the Younger is far from conclusive: see Planché 1859, 126-7.
89. See note 366 below.
90. For Tilton see Nichols 1795-1811, Volume III, 471; for Pitchford see Watkins 1949-50, 86-197; and for Horton see Hutchins 1774 (third edition of 1861-70), 157.
91. See especially Esdaile 1933, 63-8.
92. See Britton 1836, Volume IV, 69.
93. See Fryer 1923-4, 38.
94. See respectively Lawrence and Routh 1924, 115; Pointing 1894, 39; Hunter Blair 1928, 14 (+ note 2); and Blomefield 1739-75, Volume V, 1494.
95. See respectively Ellacombe 1881, 36 (cf. also Atkyn 1712, 286); Bridges 1724, Volume I, 349; Nichols 1795-1811, Volume II, 255 + fig. 3 (cf. also Atkyn 1712, 403 giving no name); Collinson 1791, Volume III, 541; Hutchins 1774, Volume I, 35 (cf. also Drury 1938, 93-4). The same is true for Gonalston where a former shield, now gone, had sculpted charges: Thoroton 1677 (new edition 1797) Vol. III, 52.
96. See Hunter Blair 1929, 13 for the effigy at Pittington; and Figg 1853, 44 for the effigy at Lewes.
97. See e.g. Harding 1861, 57 for the effigy at Atherington, and *VCH Yorkshire*, Volume II 1923, 379 (especially note 88) for the effigy at Kirkleatham.

97 Three names are mentioned for the group of effigies at Curry Rivel Collinson 1791, Volume I, 28 (mentioning two possible names), Fryer 1916, 76-7 (mentioning a third possible name) Two names have e.g. been brought forward for Bottesford Nichols 1795-1811, 98 (cf. also Manners 1903, 269-70 suggesting the son of the former), and Bloxam 1869, 2 (suggesting a different name in connection with an inscription on a separate plaque) Other instances where different names have been brought forward are e.g. Ashendon. cf. Stephen 1862, 329 and *RCHM Buckinghamshire*, Volume I, 1912, 15, Great Malvern cf. Hartshorne 1879-80, 242 and Humphreys 1912, 29, and Darlington cf. Hodgson 1915, 61-72 (suggesting two possible names after having eliminated another)

98 Thus the effigy at Walkern is attributed to a 'senior' or 'junior' member of a certain family Andrews 1945-9, 53 (cf. also Volume 3 of the *Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society*, page 97-8, where the 'junior' is mentioned for the first time) For the effigies of a knight and a lady at Woodford see Mellows 1925, 55-6, giving the names of other possible members of the normally accepted family

100 Done e.g. for the effigies at Tickenham cf. Collinson 1791, Volume III, 165-6, Shepton Mallet Collinson 1791, Volume III, 463, at Hurstpierpont Mosse 1933, 116-7, or at Brympton d'Evercy Fryer 1916, 74

101 As done for two effigies as Ash and two at Down Ampney see below note 112 The effigy at Gayton in Northamptonshire, seemingly older than a small effigy with an inscription 'Mabila', is taken as representing Mabila's mother or grandmother cf. Baker 1836-41, Volume II, 282, and Hartshorne in *VCH Northamptonshire*, Volume I, 1901, 399 + 401

102 See Stone 1955, 114

103 The following is mainly taken from D. M. Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages*, 1965<sup>4</sup>, 60-99 (chapter II Barons and Knights), and from N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry*, 1965, 17-40 (chapter II The Edwardian Cavalry) and 147-59 (chapter X Knights of the Shire and Sheriffs)

104 See Watkins 1949-50, 191

105 Bloxam 1863 158-61, for other examples with a horn see also Maclean 1885-8, 234

106 Hollaender 1940-2, 388, the whole article (p. 386-90) is an example of the loose connection often made between actual effigy and genealogical interest in a certain person

107 The effigy at Paulton is called a knight by Fryer 1916, 56-7 + 80, mentioning hauberk, mail hose and sleeveless surcoat, which I myself cannot detect see below chapter 3 page 60 The effigy at Compton Martin in almost similar dress is called a civilian by Fryer 1918, 32-3 + 40

108 Cf. E. Power, *Medieval Women*, 1975, 38

109 Stone 1955, 132

110 In general see H. Keller in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Volume 4 (1958), 186-96, and Bauch 1976, 106-19

111 See especially *VCH Northamptonshire*, Volume III, 1930, 261 (note 26) Cf. also Bauch 1976, 327 (note 253) here only two 13th century English examples are mentioned, the pair at Woodford being one of them, the other being a pair at Wolvey, which, however, is clearly of the early 14th century see Chatwin 1921, 41 + 76

112 Those at Ash are tentatively brought together by Dillen 1896, 385 and by Pevsner, *BE North-East and East Kent* 1969, 125 Yet the Purbeck marble lady is of a definitely earlier style than the freestone knight The

two effigies at Down Ampney have been connected by Pevsner, *BE Gloucestershire The Cotswolds* 1970, 210 here it is the Purbeck marble knight that is earlier than the freestone lady cf Roper 1908, 56

113 The slab is now no more than a weathered block of stone lying in the churchyard Mentioned by Fryer 1918, 34-5 + 38-9 The genealogical identification going back to 1631 is pretty convincing, which, too, would rather point to an early 14th century date for the effigy see *idem*

114 This particular detail occurs here for the first time Bauch 1976, 114-5 mentions the earliest German instance, at Lowenberg, which should be dated c1300 cf Keller 1958, 186-7 Another remarkable instance is found at Inchmahome, Perthshire, Scotland The figures are inclined towards each other having one arm beneath each other's head and holding each other with the other hand see Brydall 1894-5, 350-2 + fig 15, and Steer and Bannerman 1977, 43 + pl 17c The date, late 13th century, given by Geddes 1949-50, 223-6 seems doubtful to me both the attitude and the use of the bascinet would rather refer to a date at the beginning of the 14th century The double effigy of one block at Ayston, Rutland, representing perhaps a civilian and a priest (certainly not a knight and a lady as said by *VCH Rutland*, Volume II, 1935, 61), would best fit an early 14th century date, though the weathered state makes dating very difficult if not impossible here

115 See in general Keller 1971, 450 + 453-4, and Bauch 1976, 2-4 + 5 (the latter clearly defining the difference between 'Bild' and 'Bildnis') For England see especially A Hartshorne, *Portraiture in Recumbent Effigies and Ancient Schools of Monumental Sculpture in England*, 1899, (calling the straight lower eyelid Gothic p 11) and A Tomlinson, *The Mediaeval Face* Exposition Catalogue of The National Portrait Gallery 1975

116 See Tomlinson 1975, plates 11 + 21 and 16 + 17 For the two royal effigies in Westminster Abbey see also Hartshorne 1899 11-2, and Burges 1863, 148, 150 and 153

117 Seen by Hartshorne 1899, 6 Also to be seen in the series of bishops' effigies in Wells Cathedral see Robinson 1913, plates 8-11 A good example of an effigy of an older and bald civilian is the one of Sopley see pl 76

118 This theory, allowing too little for exceptional cases, was enunciated by Mâle 1949 (first edition 1908), 400-2 According to this author the most perfect type is the type with hands folded in prayer, open eyes, and the perfect youthful appearance The praying attitude is a minor one and hardly occurs in England before the last quarter of the 13th century

119 See Gough 1786, plate 5 (opposite page 24) and plate 19 (opposite page 50, and Stothard 1817 (with plates of two knightly effigies in Temple Church, London) The eyes of Temple Church III (the former of the two figured by Stothard) are given as closed by Stothard, but as open by Richardson, 1843, 19 + plate 3 (mentioning considerable decay on this effigy before restoration) For French examples see also Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, 115-6

120 The expression of a living body is discussed by Mâle 1949 (first edition 1908), 400-2, the figure either waiting for eternal bliss or lying on a bed of state has been fully treated by s'Jacob 1954, 39-44 (see also pages 17, 28 and 230 about the ideal state of the effigy), the relation between 'enfeus' and effigies with closed eyes is brought forward by Bauch 1976, 45 + 54, the artist's liberty is mentioned by Panofsky 1964, 57 (the latter author's differentiation between 'representation au vif' and 'representation

de la mort' (id 51 + 57) is similar to the aspects discussed by Mâle and s'Jacob mentioned above

121 See Esdaile 1933, 63-8 + 72

122 See Robinson 1913, 95-112

123 The first phrase is by Panofsky, 1964, 51 + 56, for the second Bauch 1976, 65 + note 159

124 For a thorough discussion of the difference between 'idealism' and 'realism' see H. s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism*, 1954 passim; with a short summary on page 230 f

125 Panofsky 1964, 46 and Krautheimer 1965, 30

126 Fink 1915, 2-3 and Viollet-le-Duc 1875, 31, the Cistercians seem to have abided the law more strictly and longer Erlande Brandenburg 1975, 87-8

127 Panofsky 1964, 46-7 and Bauch 1976, 8-9

128 Bauch 1976, 304 note 28 A fine series of outside tomb recesses, of early 14th century date, is found in Lichfield Cathedral. Pevsner, *BE Staffordshire* 1974 180 Other early examples are found at Modbury (Devon) Pevsner *BE South Devon* 1952, 207, and at Great Brington (Northants). Crossley 1921, 50

129 Fairweather 1937, 295

130 *VCH Sussex* Vol 3, 1935, 144

131 For the 13th century a unique effigy of an abbess is known at Polesworth (Warws). Chatwin 1921, 26 + 32 See for sites of burial Bauch 1976, 9 and 304 note 28 For the normal custom of erecting monuments within abbey precincts to the lay founders see Mâle 1948 (1st edition 1908), 396-7

132 For Furness see Beck 1844, 382 At Kirkstead it is the chapel 'ante portas' Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964 288, and at Lewes it is the chapel of the hospitium Pevsner, *BE Sussex* 1970<sup>2</sup>, 552-3 The latter effigy was found on a nearby railway slope in 1846 Figg 1846, 79

133 Although King Henry III was at first buried in front of the high altar, the present structure never stood there Burges 1863, 147-8, and Lethaby 1906, 284-5

134 For the moving of King John's tomb see *VCH Worcestershire*, Vol 4, 1924, 400-1 For Gloucester see Brewis 1921-2, 301, quoting Leland, an antiquary of the reign of Henry VIII

135 For a history of the effigies and the earliest references to them see Esdaile 1933, 63-72

136 Drury 1938, 90-4

137 Pevsner, *BE North-East and East Kent* 1969, 125

138 For the effigy of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral see Planché 1859, 124, and for the effigy of a lady in Worcester Cathedral see Britton, Vol 4, 1836, no 33 page 3

139 Stone 1955, 145-7 and 159-60 See also for the other more extensive descriptions *RCHM London*, Vol 1, 1924, 21-4 Burges 1863, 159-64 and Lethaby 1906, passim and especially 182-4, 249-50 and 267-71 Biver 1909 243-50 and 1910, 51-8, and also Pradel 1952-3, 165 and 1954, 235-7 and Taralon 1966, 704 date the monuments to the beginning of the 14th century Evans 1949, 6-7 again dates them a few years before 1296

140 Stone, 1955, 147 For Alexander's connection with the Eleanor Crosses see Hunter 1841, 167-191, Hastings 1955, 20-7 and Brown 1963, 477-90

141 See generally above note 139 For the difference between the weepers

see also Lethaby 1925, 199-200 A general survey of weepers is given in P Quarré, *Les pleurants dans l'art du Moyen Age en Europe*, Musée des Beaux-Art de Dijon, 1971

142 Marshall 1935, 34-46 He dates the shrine to 1285-7, but an earlier date, c1274-82, for the lower part, containing the knights, is suggested by Reeves 1952, 295 (note 1) on account of the leaves

143 Stone 1955, 146 Two seated knights in the Victoria and Albert Museum, on a larger scale, show similar attitudes one has his right leg laid on his left knee Lent by Sir Charles Close they seem originally to have come from Hereford Cathedral

144 See the tomb chests at Rochester (Pevsner, *BE West Kent and the Weald* 1969, 462-3), at Canterbury, of Archbishop Hubert Walter (Pevsner, *BE North-East and East Kent* 1969, 195-6) and at Exeter, of Bishop Marshall, replacing an earlier tomb chest also preserved (Crossley 1921, 47b and Bishop and Rafor 1941, 333-6

145 It is not quite certain how much of this chest is original Planché 1859 125-6 calls it "almost destroyed, some part protected by glass"

146 Placed on a stone base, for which see *RCHM London*, Vol 1, 1924, 43

147 A good illustration of the outer side of this stone chest is given by Crossley 1921, 169

148 Crossley 1921, 29 and 44, and Burges 1863, 149 Lethaby 1911, 360-4 says the base is by 'Odo' See also Saxl and Wittkower 1969<sup>2</sup>, 32-3

149 Drury 1948, 90 See also *VCH Sussex*, Vol 9, 1937, 74

150 See Fryer 1919, 76-7 Collinson 1791, Vol 1, 28 mentions 5 niches.

151 See mainly Crossley 1921, 179-81 *VCH Berkshire*, Vol 4, 1924, 389 ("c1300") and Pevsner, *BE Berkshire* 1966, 171 ("c1275" because of south window tracery)

152 Crossley 1921, 42

153 The thorough restoration of the Temple Church knightly effigies in the 19th century involved in the first place completely new slabs for all of them Richardson 1843, 15

154 The tapering form is, of course, not typically English (cf Hills 1945, 251), it also occurs on practically all early continental slabs see Bauch 1976, *passim*

155 Hills 1945, 255-6 mentions only one effigial slab with a gable form, at Faulkbourne, but he points out that this form occurs more regularly with semi-effigial slabs

156 Foremost the excellent study by P W Reeves, *English Stiff-Leaf Sculpture*, 1952, an unpublished dissertation of the University of London Further S Gardner, *English Foliage Sculpture* Cambridge 1927 and N Pevsner, *The Leaves of Southwell*, London 1945 Mostly applied to the decoration of capitals etc the results of these studies have here been used for the leaf decoration on effigial slabs

157 Fryer 1923-4, 58

158 To be compared with some capitals at Wells, not with some at Lincoln and Salisbury Gardner 1927, figs 41, 47 and 51 respectively

159 The effigy on the south side of the east end of the Lady Chapel, illustrated in Prior and Gardner 1912, fig 653

160 The later addition at Chaddesleigh Corbett noticed by Roper 1969, 23 A similar decoration of doubtful authenticity is found on Cantilupe's shrine in Hereford Cathedral see Prior and Gardner 1912, fig 431 The Berkeley effigy with slab is illustrated by Crossley 1921, 211c This is a



reason to date the first of the two effigies at Figheldean to the early 14th century: cf. Pevsner *BE Wiltshire* 1963, 217.

161. See Bauch 1976, 18-9 and 35-7 and plates 12, 37 and 39.

162. For an illustration of the ecclesiastical figure here see Bower 1898-9, fig. 18, its description being found on page 434.

163. The difference in relief between the stiff-leaf decoration on this episcopal effigy on the north side of the east end of the Lady Chapel and that on the episcopal effigy opposite (see note 159) is striking: the latter is the more advanced, which is moreover the impression given by the whole figure: Pevsner *BE Worcestershire* 1968, 109.

164. Reeves 1952, 134.

165. Compare the stiff leaf on this effigy at Kirkstead with the capital decoration in the same chapel as illustrated by Reeves 1952, pl. 43a.

166. Reeves 1952, 278. For this and the following see Reeves 1952, *passim*.

167. This naturalism, different from the Southwell naturalism, is no reason to date the tomb at Chischeter "c1300": as is done by Pevsner, *BE Sussex* 1970<sup>2</sup>, 154. On the other hand the leaves near the feet of the famous reclining knightly effigy at Aldworth are more of a naturalistic than of a stiff-leaf form (described as the latter by Pevsner, *BE Berkshire* 1966, 64), and certainly of the freely undercut, later Southwell type.

168. Described by Lethaby 1906, 177; at present so much weathered that the individual species can no longer be made out.

169. For the date of the Southwell Chapter House decoration see Pevsner 1945, *passim*.

170. At Blyth, Kemble, Sandwich (knights), London (Westminster Abbey: King Henry III), Paulton, Sopley (civilians), Foy (2), Gonalston, London (Westminster Abbey: Queen Eleanor), Romsey, Sopley, West Leake, Winterborne Bassett (a double effigy of civilian and lady), Wistow (Ladies).

171. Lethaby 1906, 287-8.

172. Representing the Heavenly City into which the soul is received: s'Jacob 1954, 168-9. Such structures occur very often on ecclesiastical effigies: see Prior and Gardner 1912, figs. 649, 650 and 662.

173. Prior and Gardner 1912, fig. 658. Another bishop's effigy here (*id.* fig. 660) and the one at York (*id.* fig. 661) are examples showing the ornamental shafts.

174. One of them illustrated in Prior and Gardner 1912, fig. 662.

175. *Idem*, fig. 672, dated c1270. The niches on the Wells front also have this parallel upper foil.

176. Lethaby 1906, 287.

177. Escorting the soul on his way to the Heavenly City, the latter symbolized by the building-like structures above the canopy: see note 172 above.

178. A few examples serving for many: Hartington (Derbys.), Nafferton (Yorks.) and Norton Disney (Lincs.). For the kind of semi-effigial slabs in general see Boutell 1845, 117-159.

179. For both inscriptions see *RCHM London* Vol. I (1924), 29.

180. See *id.* p. 23.

181. Bonney 1937 (reprint of 1845-8), 61.

182. Hills 1945, 251.

183. Mason *n.d.*, 6.

184. For the languages used in England in this time see: Wilson 1943, 37-60.

185 Bauch 1976, 16 suggests that every tomb formerly had an inscription This is doubtful Richardson 1843, 16 suggests that for the knightly effigies in Temple Church, London the different attitudes of the figures may have sufficed Inscriptions may also been added at a later date, as at Bristol (II) Fryer 1923-4, 38 For Compton Martin an early inscription is mentioned by Fryer 1918, 33 + 40 "Thos de Mortone"

186 For Bishop's Cleeve, Atkyns 1712, 355 mentions a worn-out inscription, for Eastwick, Clutterbuck, Vol III, 1815-27, 167 thought he saw "raised letters on the edge", at Faulkbourne illegible traces of Lombardic letters may be discerned see Hills 1945, 253 and *RCHM Essex*, Vol II, 1921, 69 for Long Ashton see Fryer 1918, 29 30 + 41, for Tilton (the knightly effigy here) Nichols 1795-1811, Vol III Part I, 471-2 says that the inscription dates to the early 14th century, for Toppesfield see Hills 1945, 259-61

187 See Pevsner, *BE Suffolk* 1961, 113 See also page 35 of this chapter

188 Mentioned by Bloxam 1869, 2 (146), and Lawrance 1949, 196 See also Nichols 1795-1811, Vol I Part 1, 98 For Down Ampney an old inscription is mentioned on the floor in front of the effigy Roper 1931, 627-8

189 Esdale 1933, 67

190 Already said so by Fink 1915, 54

191 Illustrated by Gardner 1951, fig 425

192 Burges 1863, 150

193 Bauch 1976, 71 mentions as the first dog found on an effigial slab the one seen below the feet of Louis de France (+ 1260) in St Denis, France

194 Fryer 1925, 67

195 s Jacob 1954, 24 For a general survey of the animal as a foot support see Fink 1915, 54-7, s'Jacob 1954, 22-4 and Bauch 1976, 73-4

196 Fink 1915, 55-6

197 See e.g. Prior and Gardner 1912, figs 646, 648, 649, 650 and 661

198 White 1960<sup>2</sup>, 165-7, 168-9 and 173-4

199 Drury 1938, 91

200 Roper 1910, 124

201 *RCHM London*, Vol IV, 1929, 141

202 Mee 1949, 277 At Pershore, the animal, now lost, has been described as a hare, a wyvern and a lion Maclean 1885-8, 235

203 Fink 1915, 56-7

204 Bauch 1976, 73

205 Reported as mutilated by Bonney 1937 (reprint of 1845 8), 79 and Byron 1850, 387

206 The most critical author on this effigy is Andersson 1950, 70 note 5

207 The dogs at Blyth are described as two grotesque beasts by Lawrence and Routh 1924, 115 and as two dragons by Hills 1945, 257

208 And thus belongs to the group of effigies with no foot support see above page 43 of this chapter

209 Often dated to the 13th century Stone 1950, 150, *RCHM Essex*, Vol II, 1921, 119, l'Anson 1926, 350 See also my description of the attitude of the figure on page 115-6 of chapter 4 below

210 Stone 1955, 146 and Andersson 1950, 51

211 For Minster in Sheppey see Pevsner, *BE North-East and East Kent* 1969, 337-8 For Chulthorne Domer and Pendomer see Fryer 1916, 74-5 and 80-1 Fryer dates the latter effigy 1320-5 and the former 1270-80, which must be a wrong date for Chulthorne Domer

- 212 For Furness see Bower 1898-9, 434-5 (the effigy is not as dilapidated as said here), for Brancepeth see G H Hunter Blair 1929, 22
- 213 For Staindrop see Hunter Blair 1929, 51, and for Kingerby Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 286
- 214 Fink 1915, 35
- 215 Panofsky 1964, 52 and fig 119 Those mentioned by Bauch 1976, 64 and 66 (figs 40, 41 and 92) also seem to date from the early 13th century
- 216 cf. Bauch 1976, 64-7
- 217 A good description is given by Pevsner, *BE Herefordshire* 1963, 166-7 See also for its date, 1267-70, Reeves 1952, 285-6
218. See note 386
- 219 See Burges 1863, 148, and Brown 1963, 481-2
- 220 See Pradel 1954, 235 and Stone 1955, 143
- 221 See Greenhill 1976, Vol II, 7 and pl 46c
- 222 The small effigy at Fleet showing the double cushion placed as here described seems to me to date from c1300 or early 14th century Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 527
- 223 See Pevsner, *BE South Devon* 1952, 134 and 144-5, and Brieger 1957, 230
- 224 Stone 1955, 146 and note 51 on page 255
- 225 Stone 1955, 146 and note 50 on page 255
- 226 Biver 1909, 243-58, repeated 1910, 51-61 ff ; Pradel 1952-3, 165 and 1954, 235-7
- 227 For this effigy and its tomb structure see Biver 1909, 253, Prior and Gardner 1912, 378 and 641 and fig 644, Fryer 1920, 32-4 and 51-2, Stone 1955, 149 and Pevsner, *BE North Somerset and Bristol* 1958, 308-9.
- 228 Prior and Gardner 1912, 626 and figs 699 and 731
- 229 Prior and Gardner 1912, respective figures 716, 725, 750, 720, 700 and 732 Those at Lustleigh and Wear Gifford are not reproduced but are mentioned on pages 624 and 627 respectively
- 230 The second of two knightly effigies at both places are meant here. see Pevsner, *BE Wiltshire* 1963, 211 and 217
- 231 All dated 'late 13th century' by Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 187, 210, 365 and 424 for Belleau, Bushingthorpe, Somerby and Winteringham respectively, and Pevsner, *BE Yorkshire, The West Riding* 1967<sup>a</sup>, 497 The latter is dated 1338 by Pontefract n d, 76
- 232 As for Staindrop see C H Hunter Blair 1928, 40-1 At Erwardon both the knightly and the lady effigy have the attendant angels Blore 1859, 272-3 At Fersfield it is a lady effigy, although formerly it was thought to be an effigy of a priest Blomefield, Vol I, 1795, 68-9, apparently taken over by Pevsner, *BE North-West and South Norfolk* 1970<sup>a</sup>, 160, but corrected already by Rye 1916, 6-7
- 233 Of the three effigies here, much damaged in the 1939-45 war but later restored and put up in the new church, perhaps only one, the smaller knightly effigy, clearly earlier than the other two, should be given a 13th century date From the many recordings of these effigies see Fryer 1910, 81-2, Waller 1844-5, 70 (the only author suggesting an early 14th century date for all three), Markham 1881, 270-1, Suckling 1845, 103, Durrant 1887, 89, Bamford, 1921, 159 and *RCHM Essex*, Vol III, 1922, 171
- 234 See C H Hunter Blair 1923, 38 and Hodgson 1916, 61-72
- 235 s'Jacob 1954, 168 See for the several functions executed by these angels Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, 116
- 236 The top part of this effigy, the larger of the two preserved here

intact, is so much broken that canopy and angels are hardly to be deciphered: they were described so by I'Anson 1924-6, 364-5, but differently by the same author in 1920, 298-9. See also *VCH Yorkshire NR* 1914, 217-8.

237 Commonly interpreted so, as he was buried between the shrines of these two saints. Brieger 1957, 300 and Wild 1823, 18-20. Compare also the effigy of a lady at Wistow, which has two heads in quatrefoils in the upper part of the slab, one of a bishop and one of a civilian called her children by Mason n.d., 6).

238 Compare e.g. the angels seen on the effigial slabs to 'Bishop Iscanus' at Exeter, to a Bishop at St David's, Wales, and those on the effigial slab to Bishop de la Wyle at Salisbury (Prior and Gardner 1912, figs. 648, 652 and 672 respectively). Angels similar to those on the latter effigy, but more finely sculptured, are seen on Bishop Bridport's effigy in the same Cathedral. This development is, of course, not straightforward. At least one early 14th century slab, at Stevenage (see Gerdner 1952, fig. 408), is known with this parallel placing of attendant figures, the advanced state of sculpturing technique, the impression of full rounded figures at least for the upper parts, pointing to such a late date.

239 As remarked by Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 239. For the sculptures of the Angel Choir in Lincoln Cathedral see Gardner 1960<sup>3</sup>, 1-21, especially figs. N6, S9 and S12.

240 See *RCHM Dorset*, Vol. I, 1952, 199, and especially Drury 1955, 86-7.

241 Stone 1955, 250-1 (note 14).

242. Stone 1955, 135 and 148.

243 No sculptured effigy shows so many details of dress and armour as, for example, the miniature of the knight in B.M. MS Royal 2 A. XXII, reproduced in Brieger 1957, pl. 37B.

244 The different names given to the garments worn are sometimes confusing: see e.g. Brooks 1964<sup>4</sup>, 66. I prefer the word 'gown' to 'surcoat' to avoid confusion with the military garment of this name. The word 'surcoat' for ladies is used by Kelly and Schwabe 1972<sup>2</sup>, 10, and Greenhill, Vol. I, 1976, p. 232; the word 'gown' is preferred by Hunt, Vol. I, 1974, 35.

245 Andersson 1950, 63-4.

246 Andersson 1950, 68.

247 See Pevsner, *BE Herefordshire* 1963, 311. This date as well as that given by *RCHM Herefordshire*, Vol. II, 1932, 248 is too late in my opinion.

248. See Pevsner, *BE Herefordshire* 1963, 324 and *RCHM Herefordshire*, Vol. II, 1932, 219.

249 See Pevsner, *BE Herefordshire* 1963, 244, borrowing (again? see notes 247 and 248) from *RCHM Herefordshire*, Vol. III, 1934, 142.

250 See Prior and Gardner 1912, 644-5 and Stone 1955, 167. Another lady effigy at Aldworth, dated 'early 14th century or late 13th century' by Pevsner, *BE Berkshire* 1966, 64, shows the more advanced sway according to me.

251. See Pevsner, *BE Staffordshire* 1974, 180 and fig. 19.

252 Pevsner, *BE Sussex* 1970<sup>3</sup>, 154 dates the effigy 'c1300'; for the various attributions see *VCH Sussex*, Vol. III, 1935, 144.

253 The Axminster figure is compared with the Aveline figure by Prior and Gardner 1912, 613 and 642-4. For the Axminster and Membury figures being duplicates see Davidson 1935, 70-1 and Rogers 1872, 69.

254 Hartshorne in *VCH Northamptonshire*, Vol. I, 1901, 401 mentions the modern rechiselling of the face: this may be true for other parts as well.

- 255 The fine effigy of Chancellor Swinfield is mentioned by Brieger in the Catalogue *Arts and the Courts*, Ottawa 1972, 34
- 256 See generally Kelly and Schwabe 1972<sup>2</sup>, 13-4
- 257 See mainly Henderson 1967, 102-4, with references to Brieger 1957, 169-70 and to Evans 1952, 22-4
- 258 See Brooke 1964<sup>4</sup>, 72-3 and 80-1
- 259 The fillet and barrette, the veil and wimple and the separate veil are three clearly distinct head dresses, for example, in the miniatures of the 'Manessische Liederhandschrift' of c1300 see Clausberg 1978 *passim*
- 260 See mainly Drury 1929, 191-2
- 261 See Kelly and Schwabe 1972<sup>2</sup>, 1 ff
- 262 For King John's dress see Brooke 1964<sup>4</sup>, 64-5, this is the only civilian effigy wearing gloves for King Henry III's 'royal mantle of estate' see Hunt, Vol I, 1974, 42
- 263 Thus the effigies, or rather what is left of them, at Berrow and Pilton in Somerset, described as knights by Pevsner, *BL South & West Somerset* 1958, 86 and 272 respectively, are really civilians see Fryer 1917, 14 and 1919, 46 If the effigy at Berrow had a ball flower ornament, as mentioned by Fryer, *ibidem*, not now to be seen any more, the effigy had better be dated to the 14th century The almost completely weathered surfaces of both effigies do not allow anything more to be said about them
- 264 By Fryer 1916, 56-7 and 80, the effigy at Compton Martin is called a civilian Fryer 1918, 40
- 265 Comparisons can be made with a relief in Durham Cathedral and parts of statuettes from Bridlington, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum Zarnecki 1953, plates 67 and 115 6, see also Stone 1955, 82-3
- 266 Andersson 1950, 58-64
- 267 See Prior and Gardner 1912, 606 and Pevsner, *BE North Somerset and Bristol* 1958, 390 A full description of the garment is given by Roper 1905, 71
- 268 Compton Martin and Paulton are compared with each other by Fryer 1918, 32-3
- 269 See Pradel 1952-3, 165, and Pevsner, *BE London*, Vol I, 1973<sup>3</sup>, 424-5
- 270 The best general survey is found in C Blair, *European Armour*, 1958 chapters 1 and 2 See further Kelly and Schwabe 1972 (reprint of 1931), 48-61, Hunt, Vol I, 1974, 21-32 and Greenhill, Vol I, 1976, 129-39 The references to the plates in this section are selective
- 271 Called 'the early fashion' by Fryer 1924, 81, see also Hunt, Vol I, 1974, 26
- 272 There are instances where such a metal skull-cap is given as worn over the mail, e.g. at St Bride's see Greenhill, Vol II, 1976, pl 46b It is also seen in miniatures see e.g. B.M. Harley MS 5102, f32
- 273 E.g. by Prior and Gardner 1912, 592
- 274 Hunt, Vol I, 1976, 25-6 mentions this chevron pattern on the neck, but sees it as simply the result of horizontal bands intersecting there
- 275 Called a definitely early detail by Fryer 1924, 26
- 276 See Blair 1958, 30, and further Hills 1945, 251-62, who, trying to list the great helmets, has left out Seaborough, Thruxton and Twyford
- 277 Thus on the seal of Robert Fitzwalter British Museum Seal XXXVII 1 See further Demay 1880, 133 ff
- 278 See Andersson 1950, 55 (note), Hartshorne 1883, 298-9, and for tournaments generally Stenton 1969 (first published 1951), 83 9 The latter

author mentions a tournament held at Blyth, the place where a helmeted knightly effigy has actually been preserved

- 279 Demay 1880, 133
- 280 Colchester 1959<sup>3</sup>, no 123 (page 5)
- 281 Hunter Blair 1929, 4 and 13-6
- 282 Colchester 1959<sup>3</sup>, no 124, 125 and 126 (page 5)
- 283 *RCHM London*, Vol IV, 1929, 140
- 284 Mentioned for two Irish examples by Hunt Vol I, 1976, 26
- 285 It is different from the 'chapel de fer' or 'kettle hat' seen so often in the Maciejowski Bible see e.g. Kelly and Schwabe 1972 (reprint of 1931), 52-3 A helmet similar to the Mamble one is seen in a miniature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Bodley Rolls 3) cf Verdier, Brieger and Montpetit 1972, Vol I, no 21, page 2-3, and Vol II, pl 31A
- 286 Being sculptured all around it is probably not a part of an effigy, although thus described by Mellows 1925, 57, see also Barnard 1919-20, 239-40
- 287 See e.g. the miniature mentioned in note 243 above
- 288 See Blair 1958, 51-2 and 198
- 289 They occur in England at the beginning of the 14th century especially in the north, as at Bedale (Prior and Gardner 1912, fig 692) and the Yorkshire knight in Temple Church, London (cf Prior and Gardner 1912, 634 and fig 709 and I'Anson 1923-4, 134-7)
- 290 See Blair 1958, 29
- 291 See above chapter 1 page 17-8
- 292 Stone 1955, 161
- 293 The mail in bands is called 'Corfe Style' by Hunter Blair 1928, 5
- 294 Another well-known example is the knight at Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex *RCHM Essex*, Vol II, 1921, 119
- 295 See below chapter 4 page 82-3
- 296 Chatwin 1921, 36, see also Heath 1906, 7
- 297 Bower 1898-9, 432-3 and plate XVI-fig 1
- 298 Fryer 1923-4, 25-6 and passim
- 299 Andersson 1950, 52-4
- 300 Mentioned with others by Andersson 1950, 47 (note) for an illustration of the Hildesheim figure see Retzlaff 1963, 37
- 301 Rorimer 1963<sup>3</sup>, 96 and plate 43 (on page 97)
- 302 See above note 272 above
- 303 Preserved in the British Museum seal no XXXVII 1
- 304 See *Deutsche Kunstdenkmäler Hessen*, München-Berlin 1964, 367-8 (no illustration)
- 305 See Palol-Hirmer 1967, plate 239b and page 490, it would not be difficult to find more examples Thus another late 12th century example can be found on the Porte Mantle of Tournai Cathedral V Scaff, *La sculpture romane de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai*, Tournai 1971, pl 13 and 22
- 306 See below chapter 4 page 96-7
- 307 The fourteen are found at Berwick St John, Botus Fleming, Burton Coggles, Cogenhoe, Dorchester, Horton Monkton Farleigh (I & II) Much Cowarne, Netley, Nettlecome, Penhurst, Seaborough and Upton Scudamore
- 308 Called 'a minor criticism' by Jeavons 1951, 22, who really over-values this piece of sculpture
- 309 See Hartshorne 1883, 298-9
- 310 Andersson 1950, 54-5 (note), Heath 1906, 7-8, who, being rather

critical about the difference between mail up and down or just round the arm, takes exception to 'banded mail'

311. See Blair 1958, 35.

312. Andersson 1950, 54-5 (note) and Prior and Gardner 1912, fig. 668.

313. See Demay 1880, 146-8. For the introduction of the rowel spur into England, traditionally after c1325, see Hunt, Vol. I, 1976, 29-31. Though his discussion tends to admit earlier possibilities, in his catalogue (id., 182) he still uses this specific detail to date the effigy at Kilfane to the 14th century, with which I cannot agree: see below note 353.

314. Called 'gamboissed cuisses' by Blair 1958, 34-5. He describes them as 'vertically quilted waders', but the vertical lines are not seen on the effigies discussed here, except at Mamble.

315. Kelly and Schwabe 1972, (reprint of 1931), 54.

316. For Buslingthorpe and Winteringham see Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 210 and 424 respectively, dated there to the late 13th century, for Hawstead see Pevsner, *BE Suffolk* 1961, 233, dated late 13th century as well. Moreover, these effigies wear bascinets.

317. See Pevsner, *BE Wiltshire* 1975<sup>2</sup>, 115, who dates the effigy to the 13th century. See also, especially for the heraldry on this effigy. Chambers 1958, 249 ff.

318. Cf. Crossley 1921, 239, for the possible difference between 'aketon' and 'gambeson' see Blair 1958, 32-4.

319. Called 'reinforced surcoat' by Blair 1958, 39-40.

320. Described by Blair 1958, 38-9.

321. Cf. Blair 1958, 28-9.

322. See Prior and Gardner 1912, 560 and Stone 1955, 250 (note 14).

323. See Kelly and Schwabe 1972 (reprint of 1931), 58 and Blair 1958, 47.

324. See Prior and Gardner 1912, 296; Fryer 1923-4, 26 and, a very good description, in Andersson 1950, 48.

325. See also below chapter 4 page 79.

326. Fryer 1923-4, 1-72, and Andersson 1950, 15-55.

327. Andersson 1950, 49-50 and 53-4.

328. Stone 1955, 125-8 (especially 127), and for the earlier development of the Purbeck marble style 115-7.

329. Stone 1955, 145.

330. For this effigy see Brieger 1957, 229-30 and Verdier, Brieger and Montpetit 1972, 34.

331. See below chapter 4 page 96-7.

332. Stone 1955, 152-4.

333. Id. 153 and plate 117A.

334. For Buslingthorpe see above note 316. For the other two see below chapter 4 page 99.

335. E.g. Fryer 1923-4, 41.

336. From R. E. Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry*, 1964 it becomes clear that the dates given to sword-types are too indefinite to be of any use in dating effigies within the 13th century. In one example mentioned, at Salisbury (II), see id., 51-2 and 57, the sword seems to be of a variety usual in the 14th century, the effigy is dated by Oakeshott c1270 and called exceptional according to me it should be dated late 13th century, see below chapter 4 page 96.

337. The circular form is of the type I, J and K in Oakeshott 1964, 96. The multi-lobed form is type M in id., 97 next to the examples mentioned it occurs e.g. in London (Temple Church V) and at Furness (see Perkins

1941, 158-61) The Brazil-nut form is type B1 in id., 94 it is seen at Castle Ashby and in London (Temple Church I)

338 The fake effigy at Hughendon (see Pevsner, *BE Buckinghamshire* 1960, 172-3, but also Payne 1897, 411-2 for whom part of it is genuine) has a dagger

339 See Prior and Gardner 1912, 560

340 Hartshorne 1891, 323-9

341 *Pace* Hartshorne 1891, 327

342 See Fryer 1923-4, 116

343 One of the earliest effigies in England, Salisbury (I), carries the shield just below the shoulder mostly the shoulder is covered as well The French way of carrying the shield is seen on some of the small seated knights on Cantilupe's shrine in Hereford Cathedral (for an illustration see Prior and Gardner 1912, fig 431) probably done for variety's sake

344 See Prior and Gardner 1912, 560 for the division into these two groups, and Blair 1958, 181 for the names

345 See below chapter 4 page 90, and for the painted shields chapter 1 page 17 above

346 The tables by Prior and Gardner 1912, 552-559 and especially 562 are notably deficient in exact differences The tables are too gross to be of much value Examples of correct descriptions, not resulting, however, in clear stylistic conclusions, are found in several county periodicals, a few good examples are Hunter Blair 1929, Bower 1898 9, Fryer 1923-4 and 1916-19, and Jeavons 1951-2 And, of course, the volumes of the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments* Only Hunter Blair 1929 seems to have succeeded in drawing conclusions from stylistic differences Popular guides (e.g. *The Little Guides*, *Murray's Guides*, *Memorials of the Counties of England*) and other more professional guides such as *The Buildings of England* and even *The Victoria County History*, mostly state whether an effigy is cross-legged or not, whereas the position of the hands is hardly ever mentioned

347 Cf Prior and Gardner 1912, 306-7 and Gardner 1951<sup>2</sup>, 138 For a good idea about the relation between effigy-maker and statuemaker at Wells the effigies of 7 Saxon bishops in Wells Cathedral should also be adduced see Fryer 1915, 19-30 and especially 20 For these bishops' effigies see also Robinson 1913, 95-112

348 The statue coming closest both in style and in the peculiar attitude of the right hand is Colchester 1959<sup>3</sup>, 6 no 147, wrongly called St Godric A second similar statue (the same placing of the left hand) is id., 7 no 197 More generally similar is id., 6 no 145 See also Prior and Gardner 1912, 306-7 and Fryer 1923 4, 1-2

349 Cf Bauch 1976, 128

350 Drury 1938, 90-1, and Drury 1929, 187

351 The effigy is different from the others mentioned here Not only is it half-incised and half in low relief, but, more important, it has the shield covering the breast completely, see also below page 92 One hand on the shield covering the chest is also seen on the Continent, as e.g. at Laon see Bauch 1976, 120 and plate 186 Further cf Greenhill 1976, Vol II-7 and plate 46c

352 Fryer 1923-4, 31 and 68 of the Lawrenny effigy the one at Tintern can best be seen on an older photograph of the RCHM, negative BB56 2104 the surface of the effigy as it is now, has been completely obliterated

353 Notably at Kilfane and Cashel see Hunt 1974, 181-3 and 223,



where the effigies are dated c1320, mainly on the presence of rowel spurs at Kilfane. Even when taking into account the backwardness of the region (cf Fryer 1923-4, 29-30 and 69), the general style in attitude of arms, legs and head can hardly support such a late date.

354 Two statues to which this effigy may be compared for attitude can be found in Gardner 1951<sup>2</sup>, plates 248 and 249 (right-hand side figure). See also, for drapery style, above page 56. The same statues may be adduced for the effigy of a civilian at Bristol. But the artist who worked on these statues cannot have produced such a stiff figure as at Bristol.

355 The accepted tradition is formulated by Prior and Gardner 1912, 596, for the contrasting opinion see Stone 1955, 115.

356 Not only has the face been retooled, but the whole surface, so it seems, cf Pevsner, *BE Dorset* 1972, 110 and Drury 1929, 188.

357 It is not possible, in my opinion, to speak of sword-drawing or sword-sheathing effigies before the end of the century. cf Drury 1929, 187-90, see also below on page 98.

358 Described in detail by Andersson 1950, 48, 52 and 53.

359 The one at Walkern was described by Fryer 1923-4, 3 and 58 as made of Dundry Hill stone, which was corrected by Dryru 1948, 90.

360 Andersson 1950, 54-55. The material of Forest marble is mentioned by Hartshorne 1883, 298 and Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 288, Drury 1948, 90 calls it Purbeck marble. As for the stiff-leaf see above page 36.

361 Cf Blair 1948, 127, here the effigy is dated c1260-70, too early I think.

362 See below page 110-111 of this chapter.

363 See above chapter 4 page 97.

364 See above chapter 4 page 163.

365 See Stone 1955, 116 and note 23 on page 251.

366 The effigy would fit, very generally speaking, the style of some of the Peterborough Abbots (cf Prior and Gardner 1912, figs 649 and 650) to judge from the low relief and yet tightness of its rounded forms. The lower half of an effigy at Bures (either a civilian or an ecclesiastic, see above p. 35) may be even earlier: perhaps c1200, as the general form may be compared with some effigies discussed by Bauch 1976, 36-7.

367 This is so, even if the right arm and the legs were completely renewed. Richardson 1843, 18.

368 All the effigies in Temple Church, London are fully described, including the material they are made of, in *RCHM London*, Vol. IV (1929), 140 ff.

369 Prior and Gardner 1912, 553 and 593.

370 It was really only taken over by Brieger 1957, 104.

371 The two places farthest away from London, Merevale and Stowe-Nine-Churches, are situated on the important medieval road called Watling Street, now the A5.

372 It is placed in the 'capella ante portas' of the abbey. Pevsner, *BE Warwickshire* 1966, 352. The effigy of Lewes lies in the chapel of St John Baptist formerly the hospitium at the gates of Lewes Priory. Pevsner, *BE Sussex* 1970<sup>3</sup>, 552.

373 For this shield covering the body see below pp. 90-2.

374 See Greenhill 1976, Vol. II, 7 and plate 46c, the very stiff frontal attitude certainly points to an early date.

375 See below pp. 101-2.

376 Cf s' Jacob 1954, 19.

377 Idem.

378 Cf Stone 1955, 251 (note 19)

379 Similar examples with one or two of these elements are found on incised slabs, not only in the British Isles as at Jerpoint, Ireland and St Bride's, Wales (cf Hunt 1974, 173-4 and plate 5, and Graves 1845, 383 respectively), but also on the Continent for a combination of shield and helmet see Greenhill 1976, plates 45b and 48b, and for a naked sword held upwards see id., plates 45b, 48a and 60b. A very early example of such a naked sword held upwards is the enamel slab to Geoffrey Plantagenet at Le Mans, France of the mid 12th century see Bauch 1977, plate 34. On effigies the elements occur far less at Braunschweig and Breslau (Bauch 1977, plates 165 and 217) it is a sheathed sword that is held upright. There is an example of the early 14th century Bauch 1977, 199.

380 Described in detail by C. H. Hunter Blair 1929, 4 and 13-15, nothing, however, is said about attitude.

381 Here should also be mentioned the semi-effigies at Bitton (see note 374 above) and at Coberley and Hampton in Arden. The one at Hampton in Arden is reproduced in Chatwin 1921, 40, plate XIV. For the Coberley figure see Pevsner, *BE Gloucestershire* Vol I, 1970, 191. It seems to hold an impossibly large heart in front of a shield but how much of it is original? Rudder 1779, 339 mentions it as having a shield in front of him and as having the arms destroyed. Further it is said that there is an effigy with similar shield and helmet at Toppesfield, Essex hidden below the organ. *RCHM Essex* Vol 1, (1916), 323, Roper 1935, 185, and Hills 1945, 251-62.

382 It is connected with the Wells style by Prior and Gardner 1912, 610, Andersson 1950, 53-4 (who connects them with the Bristol effigies) and Fryer 1923-4, 4 and 58. The similarity with the London-Lincoln style is mainly discussed by Stone 1955, 127 and by Gardner 1951, 166.

383 Dated c1280 by practically all authors, dated by Stone 1955, 127 "1270s", which I prefer. Called by Andersson 1950, 54 "a crucial test in the stylistic division of England's . . . sculpture from the 13th century", but then a division in time not in different schools or workshops.

384 Drury 1929, 187-90 has tried such a distinction, but his arguments are not very convincing. See for my comment on what he says about the effigies at Warcham page 79 above.

385 The Catalogue *L'Europe Gotique* 1968 is confusing about this wooden effigy from Danbury: the effigy is described with hands joined in prayer (page 62 3), but the illustration (plate 28) is of the sword sheathing knight. The one with the hands joined in prayer, dated c1300 in this catalogue, is probably the latest of the three wooden knightly effigies preserved at Danbury. Pevsner, *BE Essex* 1965<sup>2</sup>, 155.

386 Cf Fryer 1910, 9 and 64.

387 For London as a centre for wooden effigies see Prior and Gardner 1912, 664.

388 See for this Drury 1948, 78 and 96 and Stone 1955, 98-9.

389 For this particular group of effigies see Prior and Gardner 1912, 594-5 and especially Andersson 1950, 56. The latter author does not mention the effigies at Castle Ashby and Salisbury (II), while to those mentioned by both authors I have added the effigies at Ash, Ashendon, Berwick St John, Down Ampney, Droxford, Hurstpierpoint, Kemble and Penshurst. The effigies at Berwick St John and Hurstpierpoint have not yet been described as of Purbeck marble. The effigy at Welton in Yorkshire was found so by Mr and Mrs Gittos in Yeovil, Som., who are preparing an article

on this effigy As far as I know hardly any sword-handling knightly effigy in the north can be seen as indigenous

390 As noted for the Castle Ashby effigy by Hartshorne 1876, 29 and for the Droxford effigy by Pevsner *BE Hampshire* 1967, 193-4

391 See Prior and Gardner 1912, 603-4

392 Examples of a more convincing grasping of the scabbard by the left hand on these later effigies can be found in Prior and Gardner 1912, figs 695 and 723-726 and in Crossley 1921, plates 210c and 211b

393 The percentage is even higher than it seems as the numbers of 45 and 27 refer to all the effigies of ladies and civilians, including those that have been so mutilated that the position of the hands can no longer be made out

394 See above pp 89-90 See further Bauch 1977, 319 (note 163) where the first continental examples with this attitude of prayer are mentioned, dating from c1220

395 The effigy at Rippingale has been dated c1320 (Prior and Gardner 1912, 75 fig 71 and p 636), 1310 (Crossley 1921, 205 and plate 211) and 'late C13' (Pevsner, *BE Lincolnshire* 1964, 50, 623 and fig 20b) The effigy at West Tanfield has been dated c1250 (*VCH Yorkshire NR* Vol I, 1914, 388), 1275 (Pevsner, *BE Yorkshire NR* 1966, 385), c1280 (I'Anson 1924-6, 254), c1290 (Prior and Gardner 1912, 630 and fig 703) For the reasons given in the text I take the date given by Crossley to be the most convincing for both effigies For a general survey of early knightly effigies in Yorkshire see I'Anson 1924-6 *passim* see also Mann 1929, 232 6, suggesting an inclination to post-dating by I'Anson

396 It is French in the material used, Limoges work, and in attitude, a dignified frontal posture with hands in prayer and straight legs See also below pp 113-4 and note 439

397 See Westmacott 1849, 12

398 For a general survey of heart-burials see C A Bradford, *Heart Burial*, London 1933, *passim* Not all effigies showing a heart are mentioned, and the whole matter is treated rather superficially See also Fryer 1923-4, 17

399 See Walford 1946, 236-7 See also Rogers 1885, 157-64

400 Cf Crossley 1921, plates 210 213 These plates do not seem to be representative They do not show what was the more normal attitude on knightly effigies of the beginning of the 14th century, they seem to have been chosen for the diversity of attitude, and constitute only a very small minority

401 The effigy of an abbess at Polesworth, probably of c1250 or even earlier, has her left hand on the breast holding a book The right hand is holding a staff Cf Chatwin 1921, 26, 32 and plate 8, and Pevsner *BE Warwickshire* 1966, 373

402 Another effigy of a lady, at Belton, also shows this attitude The effigy has been exposed as a fake Pevsner *BE Leicestershire* 1960, 61-2 and fig 21b

403 See Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, plates 133-159

404 Examples of effigies of ladies and civilians, of c1300 and the early 14th century, with divergent attitudes, may be found at Aldworth (Prior and Gardner 1912, fig 396), Easington (Blair 1929 plate 18), Heighington (2 ladies with hands crossed on breast), Hacombe (one lady holding a shield Prior and Gardner 1912, fig 698 and another lady holding a missal), Leckhampton (the hands in a muff) and Bedale (holding a scroll) For similar divergent attitudes on knightly effigies see note 400

405. Cf. the knightly effigy in London (Temple Church VIII) described above on page 89.

406. The attitude of the hands themselves is not so exceptional: it also occurs e.g. on two effigies to Saxon bishops at Wells, see Robinson 1913, figs. 4 and 5. The inexperienced way of the carving is clear enough, notice especially the transition between shoulders and arms and between feet and foot support; its date, however, is not so clear, cf. Pevsner *BE Herefordshire* 1963, 238 and *RCHM Herefordshire* 1931, 168. The tapering of the slab, the one cushion, five-sided and following the lines of the slab and also the strict frontality, combined with the low relief, would point to an early date: rather 13th than 14th century.

407. Cf. Humphreys 1911, 32; *VCH Worcestershire* 1924, 289 and Pevsner *BE Worcestershire* 1968, 22.

408. Cf. Jeavons 1953, 22 who describes it as a good piece of sculpture and dates it to c1215. Both ideas are misconceived. Jeavons does not seem to have noticed that the helmet is half buried in the knight's chest; the depiction of the mail, along the upper arm and round the lower arm, which he considers a minor fault, is also a serious blemish. Further, to judge from what remains, it was a cross-legged figure. The effigy cannot be dated before the end of the century, if it is not even later.

409. The best account of the effigy is Burges 1863, 147-51; see also Hunter 1841, 190-1 and Brown a.o. 1963, 479 ff.

410. Cf. Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, plates 33 ff.

411. First noticed and described by Noyer 1845 who dated them to the 13th century. Hunt 1974, 35 and 224 dates them 'late 13th century or early 14th century'.

412. See Prior and Gardner 1912, fig. 706; to be dated to the second decade of the 14th century.

413. Bloxam 1866, 4 and Fryer 1916, 55 give the examples at Birkin, Yorks. WR (not Northants.; early 14th century); Much Marcle, Herefs. (c1350); Thurlaston, Leics. (14th century).

414. See Brown 1963, 479 and Burges 1863, 147-150.

415. See above page 81 of this chapter.

416. For the effigies of civilians at Berrow and Pilton see note 263; for the double effigy at Charlton Mackrell see p. 23.

417. Two early examples are found at Blyth (see above page 91) and at Monkton Farleigh, Wilts. and later ones are found in County Durham (cf. Hunter Blair 1929, 4). The effigy at Whitworth, Durham, dated early by Bauch 1976, 131, is certainly much later: Hunter Blair, *ibid.*, and above page 91.

418. See Stone 1955, 21 (note 19). See also above page 89.

419. Richardson 1843, especially 15: all effigies were put on to new slabs.

420. See above pp. 113-4.

421. Fryer 1923-4, 1-72.

422. Andersson 1950, 1-55.

423. Two effigies outside England proper, at Kilfane, Ireland and at Margam, Wales, also belong to this group; cf. Fryer 1923-4, 29-30 and 69, and 3 and 45-6.

424. See above page 79.

425. See above note 352.

426. See Drury 1938, *passim*, but especially 91 and 94.

427. See for illustrations Prior and Gardner 1912, figs. 716, 729 and

730 Aymer de Valence is not so straightly recumbent as suggested by Stone 1955, 159

428 See Greenhill 1976, Vol II, 7 + pl 46c

429 For St Bride's see *ibid*, Vol II, 39 + pl 46b, and for Avenbury *id*, Vol I, 137-8 + pl 52b

430 The resemblance between the effigies at Bitton and Old Sodbury was already noticed by Roper 1931, 185, she also pointed to the link with Monkton Farleigh without, however, working it out in detail

431 So called by e.g. Stothard 1817, on the pages opposite the drawings of two knightly effigies in Temple Church, London, also by Andersson 1950, 55 (note) However, a definition and description of this particular position is nowhere given

432 Stone 1955, 115 said so already, without proving it, the same is true for the sword-handling attitude

433 See above on page 72 This page and the following are several times referred to in this discussion of the crossed legs both aspects have to be looked at together

434 Stone 1955, 251 (note 19), where also a later date for the Walkern knight is given

435 See above pages 79 ff

436 Called so already by Prior and Gardner 1912, 593, and further also mentioned by Crossley 1927, 180, The type is not mentioned by e.g. Stone 1955, Panofsky 1964 and Bauch 1976 It is mentioned by Brieger 1957, 104, who, however, failed to note that this particular expression was also due to the crossing of the legs You never find it in the descriptions about the meaning of the crossed legs see pages 117 ff

437 Thus described for the praying attitude of hands by s'Jacob 1954, 19

438 Best seen in the following plates Prior & Gardner 1912, fig 730, and Crossley 1921, 54

439 Cf s'Jacob 1954, 19

440 Cf Crossley 1921, 44 and Stone 1955, 135, for an illustration see Stone 1955, pl 105

441 See above page 107, and also Prior & Gardner 1912, 628

442 One of the two effigies representing Berkeley figures in Bristol Cathedral is a case in point Both are depicted as praying, the second one seemingly deliberately not cross-legged (cf the different position of the attendant angels) See also Prior & Gardner 1912, 626 Some other straight-legged knightly effigies of the beginning of the 14th century are found in Yorkshire (the region where the praying, cross-legged knight was found oftener than elsewhere) Hornby, Melsonby, Romaldkirk and Sprotborough Other examples of the beginning of the 14th century are at Bowden, Cheshire, Cartmel, Lancs, Chester-le-Street, Durham (2), Fersfield, Norf, Leckhampsted, Bucks, Lustleigh Devon, and Wolvey, Warws A more detailed study of them would be needed to clarify the question

443 Prior & Gardner 1912, 628

444 See Brieger 1957, 205

445 Panofsky 1964, 56 The idea that this effigy represents a 'dying Gaul' remains strange and unsatisfactory The firm grasping of the sword contradicts the dying attitude Not only the description, but also the date given to this effigy by this author is strangely early

446 They figure thus in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* Simpson 1972, 148a + b and p 168 representing all knightly effigies in England up to the 14th century The two effigies were first compared by Bute 1871, 261-2

447 Prior & Gardner 1912, 651 give the description of 'alert martial attitude'

448 See Stone 1955, 150, where the best detailed description of this knightly effigy is given

449 See Andersson 1949, 70 (note 5) and Roper 1931, 231-6

450 Stone 1955, 256 (note 70) pointed out the differences between the Aldworth and the Dorchester effigy it does not weaken the opinion that both show the same advanced state in sculpturing technique

451 Illustrations are found in Prior & Gardner 1912, 725 for the effigy at Hanbury and *RCIM in Essex* Vol II, 1922, pl 122 for the one at Hatfield Broad Oak The effigy at Chew Magna, Som might be added, if it were genuine see Pevsner, *BE North Somerset and Bristol* 1958, 158-9 See also Walford 1857, 144-157 for a comparison between the effigies at Aldworth and Chew Magna There is yet another similar effigy at Walsall, Staffs of the late 14th century see Jeavons 1951-52 25 (+ pl 4b)

452 See Fryer 1923-24, pl II-3

453 Panofsky 1964, 56

454 See Stone 1955, part IV passim and especially the pages 149, 150 and 167

455 H s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism*, Leiden 1954 especially chapter I on 'The Recumbent Effigy, the Gisant', together with the extensive 'Complementary Notes' to this chapter

456 Lethieullier 1772, 294

457 This was pointed out by Addison 1843 87-88 and Walford 1844 45, 49 52 A few years later Walford himself concluded that the feature had no meaning at all Walford 1857, 148 Crusaders' tombs often consisted of a slab incised with a sword only Måle 1949 (1st edition 1908), 399

458 The earliest reference to cross legged effigies is by Stow in his "*Survey of London*" (1598), quoted by Esdaile 1933, 63 Mentioning the effigies in Temple Church, London he talks of 'images of armed knights, five, lying cross-legged as men vowed to the holy land, probably having in mind Knights Templars, not just Crusaders The authors mentioned in notes 456 and 457 talk of Knights Templars who had been on a crusade Addison 1843, 92 also quotes Stow Wild 1823, 21 simply calls a cross-legged knightly effigy a 'Crusader' The word is used indiscriminately

459 Already pointed out by Addison 1943, 94 (note)

460 Cf Humphreys 1912, 29-30

461 The letter was written by a Mr T White to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1789 White 1789, 337-8 The word 'Crusader' is not used, but the description is of effigies of knights that had been on a crusade

462 By Suckling 1845, 90

463 By a Canon Thompson 1906<sup>3</sup>, III Another instance of its popularity is Rogers 1877, 94 from the mere fragment of a head of a knightly effigy he concludes that the whole effigy had been cross-legged and had commemorated a Crusader

464 Panofsky 1964, 56 and Brieger in the Catalogue *Arts and the Courts* 1972, 39 Andersson 1957<sup>2</sup>, 204-5 also leaves open a possible inspiration by the Crusades

465 Cf Hartshorne 1899, 8 and Prior & Gardner 1912, 594.

466 Two effigies in London (Temple Church I and III) show how confused the whole thing is The effigies are, without clear proof, attributed to William Marshall the Elder and Geoffrey de Magnaville The former, of whom it is known that he had not been on a Crusade, but who had taken

the Crusader's vow (cf. Addison 1843, 104 + note), shows straight legs, whereas the latter, of whom neither a Crusade nor a vow is known, shows crossed legs. Consequently, for the latter a vow is presumed: Addison 1943, 94.

467. Knights Templars wore a gown with a cross upon it (Walford 1844-45, 50) and a cross was depicted on the banner they fought under (Lethieullier 1772, 294). All knights who went on a Crusade were commonly called 'Knights of the Cross' (Prior & Gardner, 1912, 594). There was an associate order of the Knights Templars called 'Fratres Crucis' (Bloxam 1866, 1-2). Graves 1853, 125 says that the crossing of the legs is symbolical of the Christian Faith in general. For effigies of Knights Hospitallers, of the 14th century, see Crossley 1921, 180.

468. Said so by Lethieullier 1772, 294. The bias in reasoning is very clear in the report of the opening of a grave at Danbury as given in a letter to *Gentleman's Magazine*; White 1789, 337-8). The skeleton found was thought to be cross-legged: yet it was not and neither was it the grave belonging to the cross-legged effigy nearby (cf. Suckling 1845, 87-90). Further there is nothing in the rules of the order about a special manner of burying their members (see C.-H. M. Chambure, *Règle et statuts secrets des Templiers*, Paris 1840 passim).

469. Such a romantic idea of later date was hinted at by Anton 1923, 196-7. Two examples of 16th century sham effigies are the ones at Chew Magna (cf. Pevsner, *BE North Somerset and Bristol* 1958, 158) and at Hughenden (Pevsner, *BE Buckinghamshire* 1966, 172-3). The oldest printed references to effigies also date from the 16th century: see note 458.

470. Thus Brieger in the Catalogue *Arts and the Court* 1972, 39. Although Panofsky 1964, 56 is speaking of the Dying Gaul type he is discussing the same thing. Brieger takes as his example the effigy at Gloucester and Panofsky the one at Dorchester, Oxfords. These two effigies are indeed very often taken as the standard examples, see note 446.

471. Bauch 1976, 129-31. Other types are hinted at, but apparently not very well known.

472. E.g. Bertaux in Michel 1906, 292.

473. For two examples in English Romanesque sculpture, at Rochester and at Malmesbury, see Zarnecki 1953, pls 86 and 92. For an example, showing the expression of movement, in the art of illumination in England, from the St. Albans Psalter, see Boase 1953, pl. 38b. A greater easiness of posture may be detected in some sitting figures, e.g. in Dublin Trinity College MS 53, and the Chelso Charter: see Boase 1953, pls 49b and 50a. As for the expression of dignity see the following paragraphs of the text.

474. Planché 1859, 125-6.

475. For Bertaux see A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Tome II 1er partie, 1906, p. 292.

476. s'Jacob 1954, 20-2. Another continental writer taking up this explanation is Biver 1909, 247-8 (note 2).

477. For M. C. Enlart see A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Tome II 1er partie, 1906, p. 210. See also Tikkanen 1912, 135.

478. Prior and Gardner 1912, fig. 397. The same is true for figures in illuminated manuscripts of judges and kings, sitting with the ankle of one leg on the knee of the other: see Brieger 1968<sup>3</sup>, 149-50.

479. Pevsner, *BE North Somerset and Bristol* 1958, 158-9, and Andersson 1950, 70 (note 5).

480. Pevsner *BE Herefordshire* 1963, 167.

481 For Bertaux see A Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Tome II 1er partie, 1906, p 292

482 Anton 1923, 188-99 and 229-36, influenced, it seems, by Bertaux

483 Walford 1857, 148 raises the question if there is any meaning at all, Long 1925, 22 says so explicitly, see also Heath 1906, 5-6

484 Pevsner in the Catalogue *L'Europe gotique* 1968, XXXVIII

485 Cf Crossley 1921, 177, Anderson 1957<sup>3</sup>, 204, Stone 1955, 115, Brieger 1957, 104

486 Also seen by Bauch 1976, 328-9 (note 273)

487 Cf Hartshorne 1899, 9, Drury 1938, 90 + 94, Fryer 1951, 220

488 Done so by the authors mentioned under the preceding note and further by Crossley 1925, 1 (repeated from Crossley 1921, 177), Anderson 1957<sup>3</sup>, 204, Stone 1955, 115

489 Bauch 1976, 64-5 stresses the absence of perspective and gravitation perhaps somewhat too strongly The still very valuable essay by M Dvořák, *Idealismus und Naturalismus in der gotischen Skulptur und Malerei*, Munchen-Berlin 1918, should be read for comparison Cf also Wright 1966, 100-114 and 115-6 for a discussion of the sculptor's attention for the horizontal position of the royal effigies in St Denis, near Paris of this period

490 s'Jacob 1954, 19-20, and Stone 1955, 168

491 s'Jacob id

492 Stenton 1969, 79 ff



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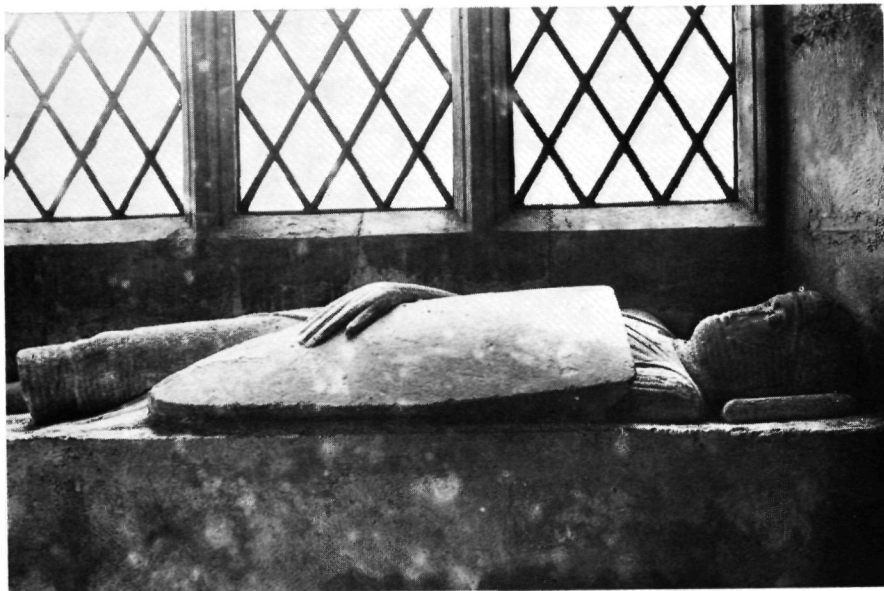
1. Statues, West front,  
Wells Cathedral



2. Statue, West front, Wells Cathedral



3. Salisbury Cathedral I



4. Shepton Mallet, Som. I



5. Tickenham, Som. I



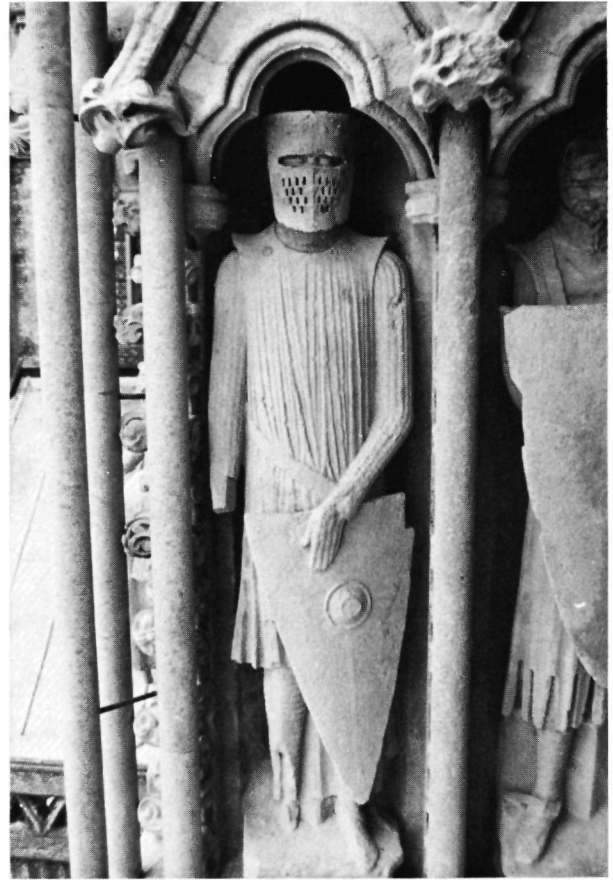
6. Atherington, Devon



7. Iddesleigh, Devon



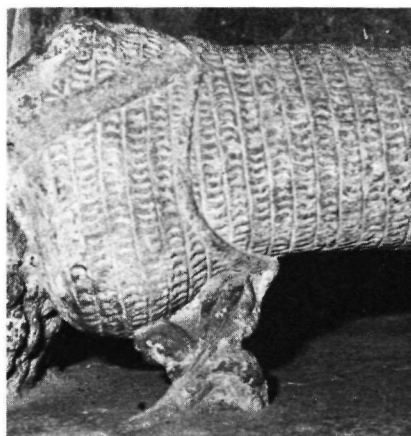
8. Seaborough, Dorset



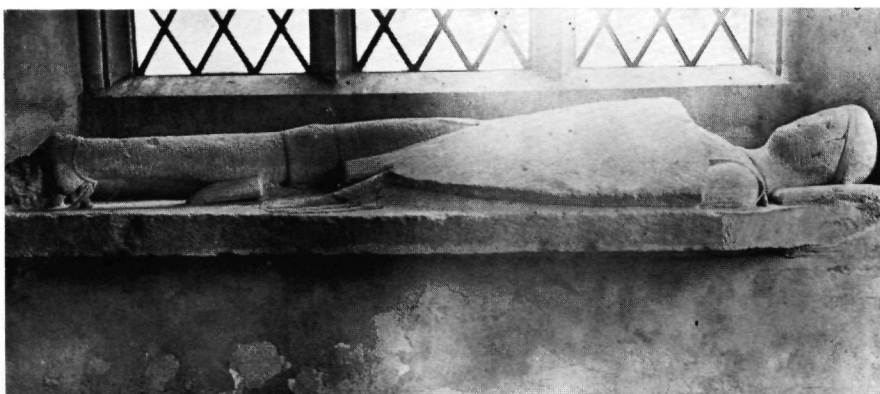
9. Statue, West front, Wells Cathedral



10. Salisbury Cathedral I, detail



11. Shepton Mallet, Som. II, detail



12. Shepton Mallet, Som. II



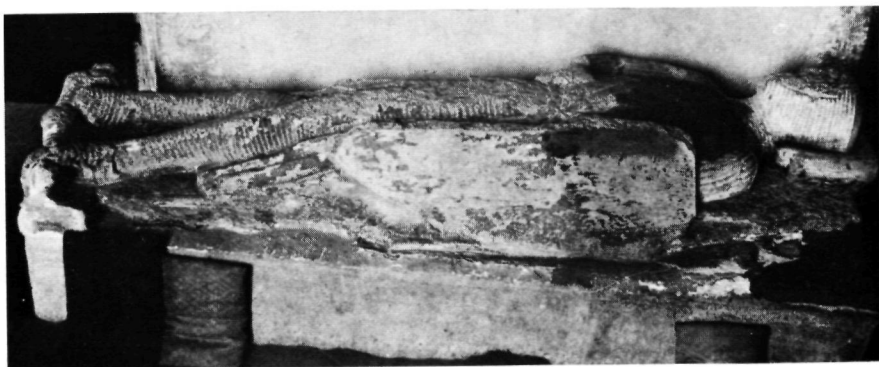
13. Abbey Dore, Herefs. I



14. Worcester Cathedral



15. Shrewsbury I

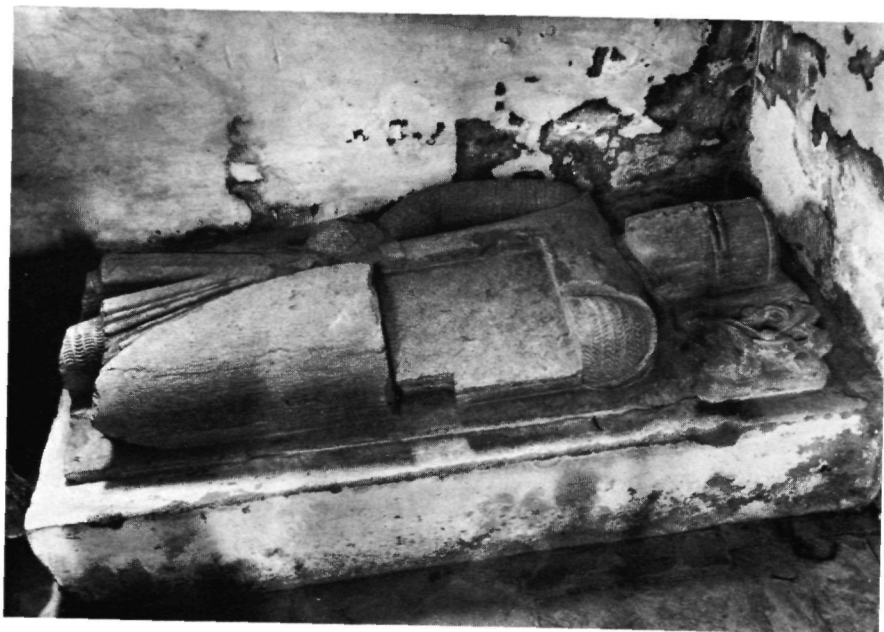


16. Wareham, Dorset I





17. Capital, Abbey Chapel, Kirkstead, Lincs.



18. Kirkstead, Lincs.



19. Abbey Dore, Herefs. II



20. Walkern, Herts.



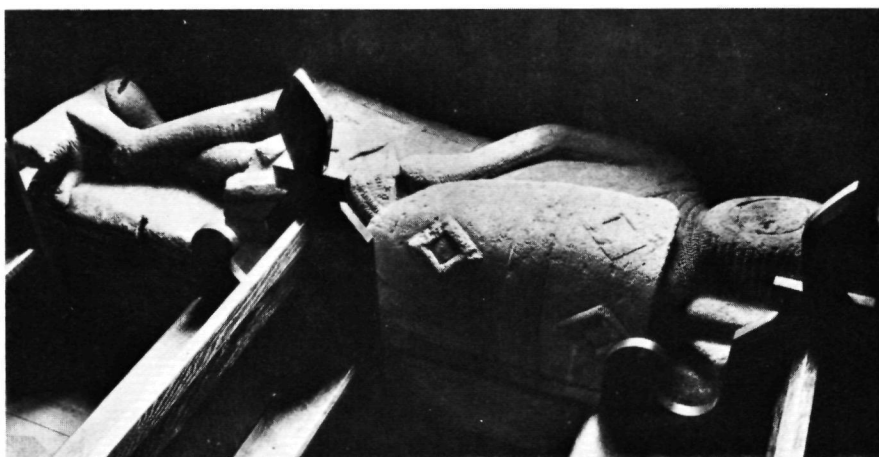
21. Rushton, Northants.



22. Rampton, Cambs.



23. Clavering, Essex



24. Cogenhoe, Northants.



25. Draycott-in-the-Moors, Staffs.



26. Mavesyn Ridware, Staffs.



27. London, Temple Church (in the foreground VII and VIII)



28. London, Temple Church I and II





29. London, Temple Church III and IV





30. London Temple Church VI



31. Merevale, Warws.



32. Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants.



33. Eastwick, Herts.



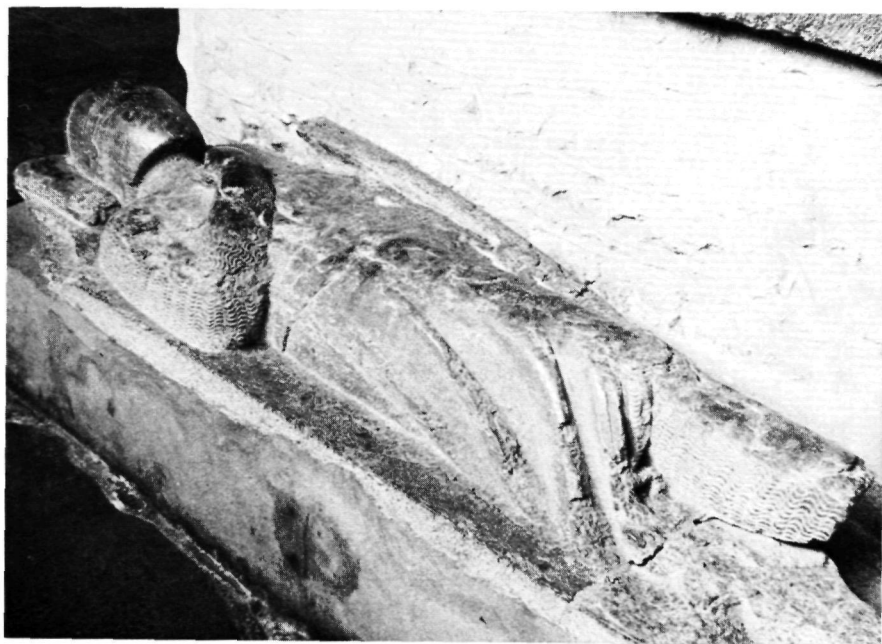
34. Hitchin, Herts.



35. Sullington, Sussex



36. Lewes, Sussex



37. Twyford, Bucks.



38. Monkton Farleigh, Wilts. III



39. Great Haseley, Oxford. II



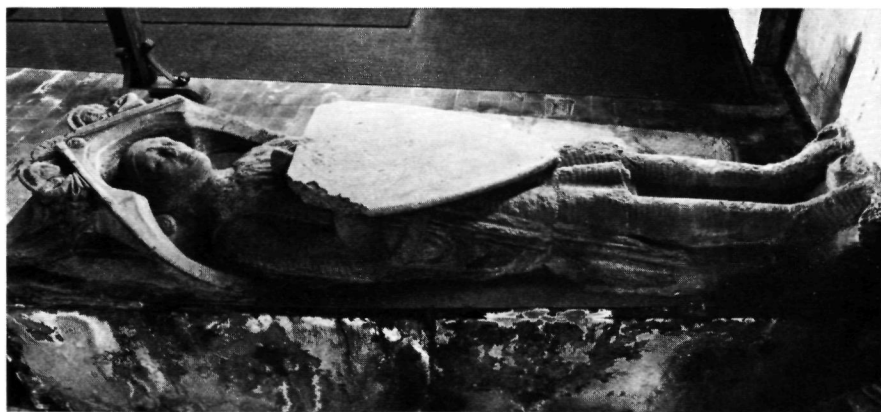
40. Monkton Farleigh, Wilts. I



41. Monkton Farleigh, Wilts. II

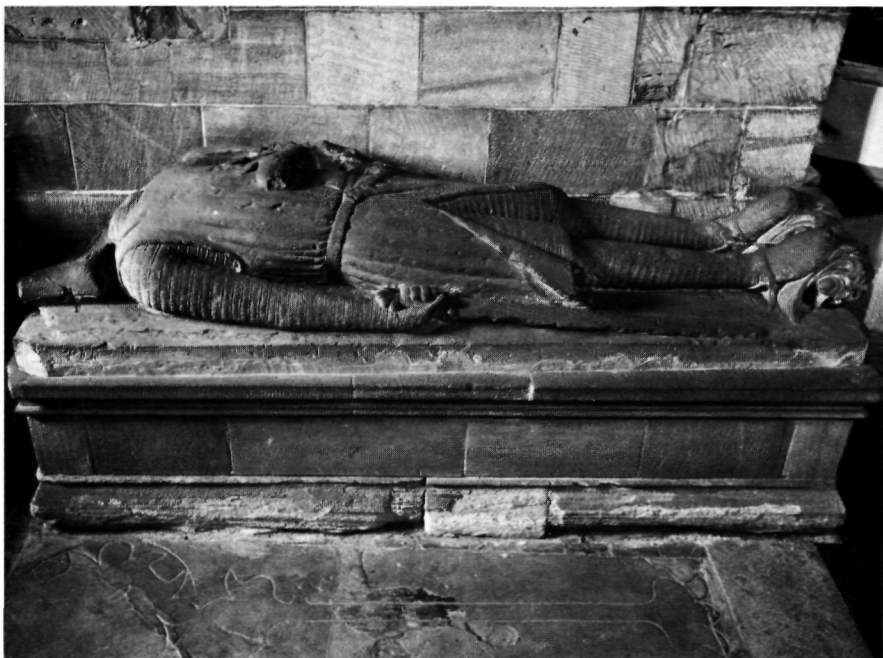


42. Blyth, Notts.



43. Sandwich, Kent



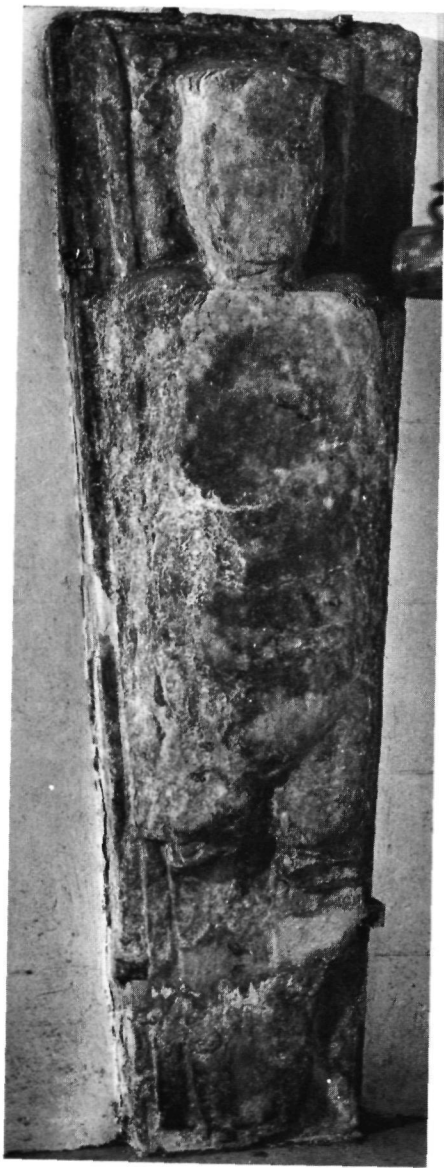


44. Newton Solney, Derbys.



45. Great Haseley, Oxfords. I





46. Thruxton, Hants.



47. Faulkbourne, Essex



48. Hatfield, Herts.



49. Furness, Lancs.



50. Top part of niche, Long Wittenham, Berks.



51. Long Wittenham, Berks.



52. Pershore, Worcs.



53. Sotherton, Suffolk



54. Mautby, Norfolk



55. Danbury, Essex I



56. Danbury, Essex II



57. Pitchford, Shrops.



58. Pitchford, Shrops.





59. Kingsdon, Som.



60. Bristol, St Mary Redcliffe

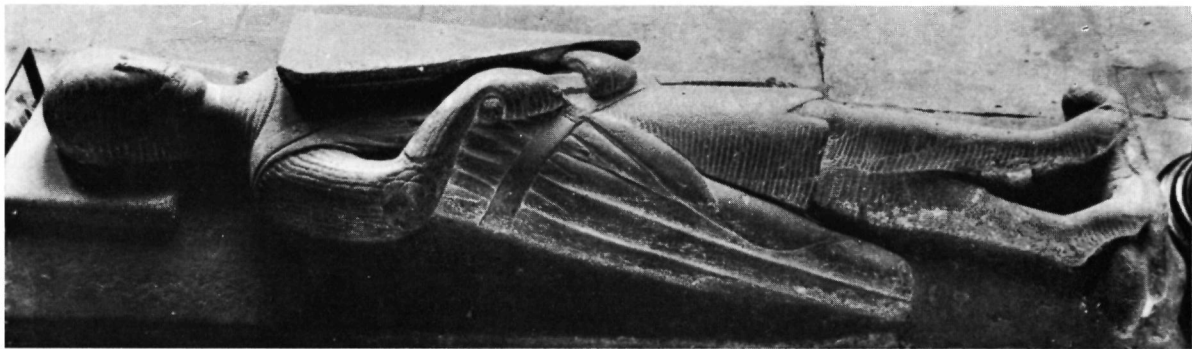




61. Penshurst, Kent



62. Berwick St John, Wilts.



63. Salisbury Cathedral II



64. Castle Ashby, Northants.



65. Castle Ashby, Northants., detail of pl. 64



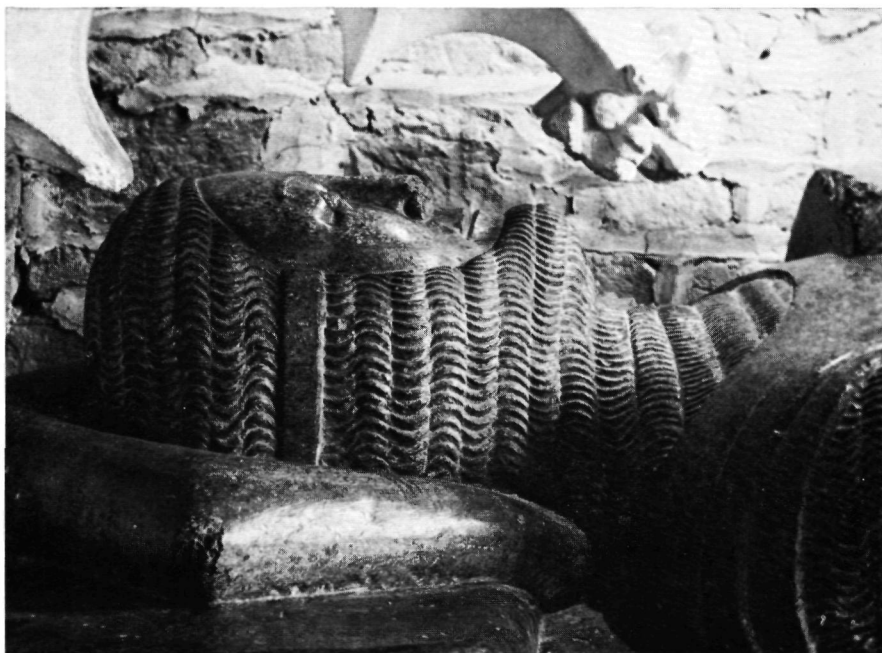
66. Hurstpierpont, Sussex



67. Horton, Dorset



68. Niches in North Chapel, St Thomas, Winchelsea, Sussex



69. Winchelsea, Sussex, detail of pl. 70



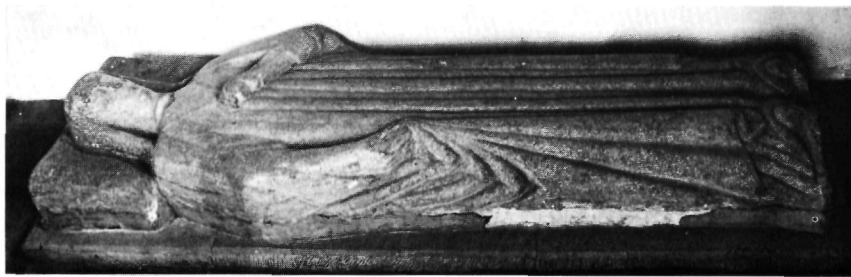
70. Winchelsea, Sussex





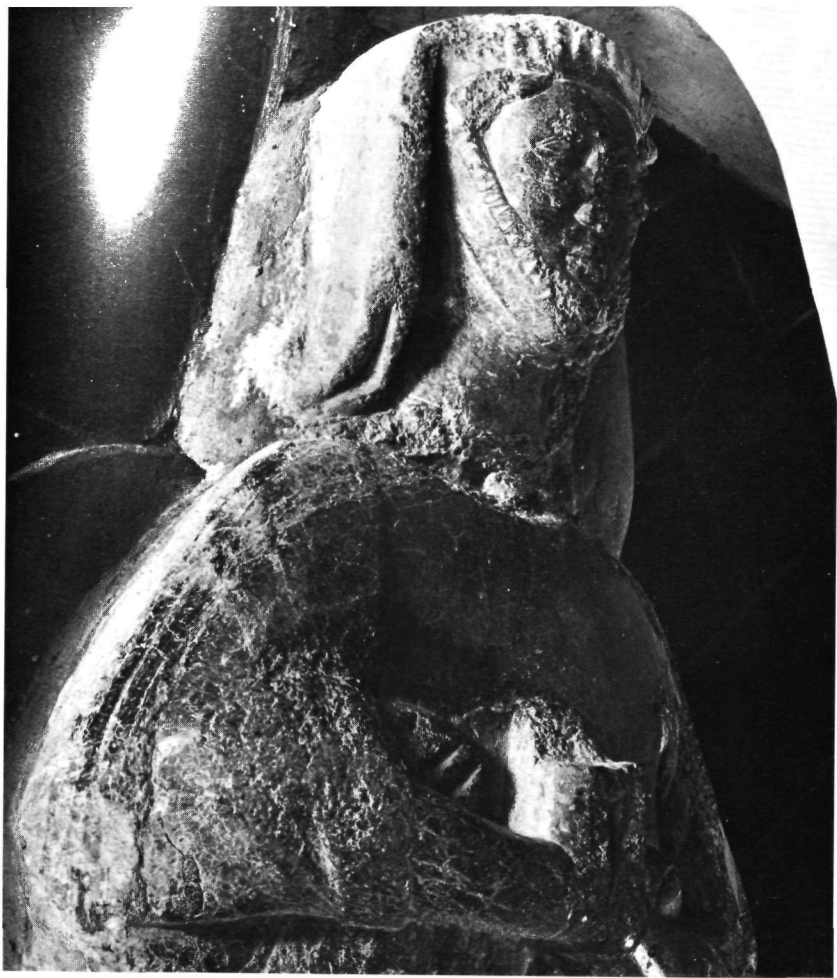


72. Winchelsea, Sussex, effigy of a lady

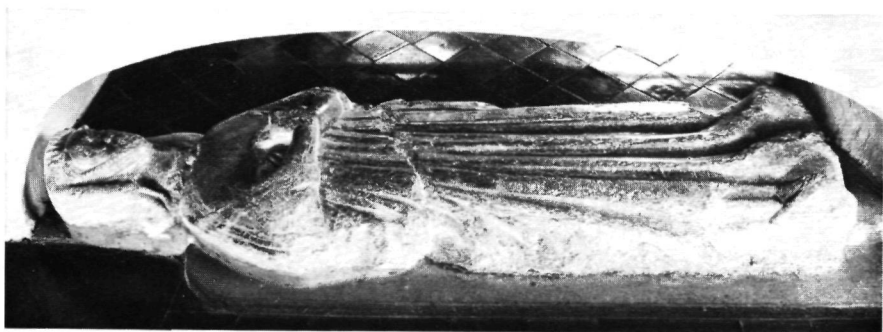


73. Droxford, Hants.





74. Ash, Kent, detail



75. Ash, Kent



76. Sopley, Hants.



77. Shrewsbury, Shrops. II



78. Chaddesleigh  
Corbett, Worcs.



79. Down Ampney, Glos.



80. Draycot Cerne, Wilts.



81. Bishop's Cleeve, Glos.



82. Burton Coggles, Lincs.



83. Staunton-in-the-Vale, Notts.



84. Stock Gaylard, Dorset



85. Much Cowarne, Herefs.



86. Curry Rivel, Som.



87. Niches along north wall, St Andrew, Curry Rivel, Som.



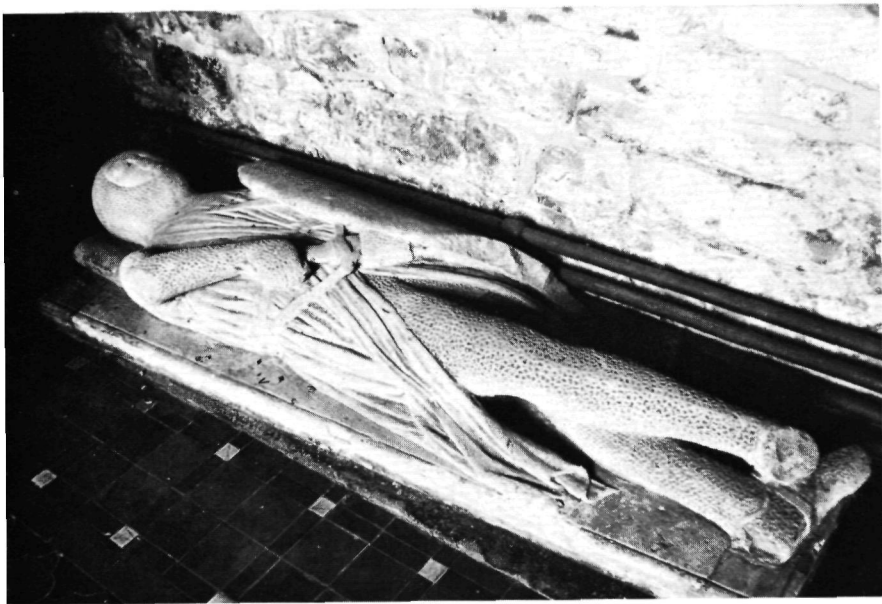


88. Nettlecombe, Som.



89. Porlock, Som.





90. Goxhill, Lincs.



91. Gedney, Lincs.



92. Rostherne, Cheshire



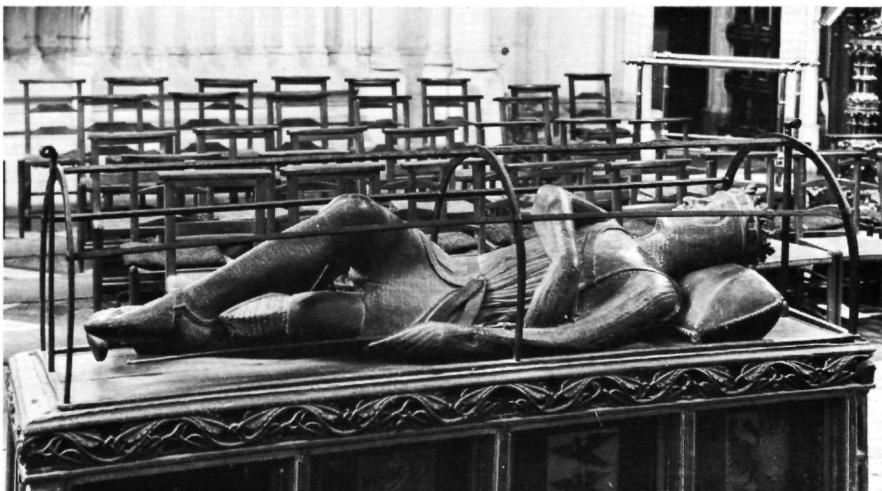
93. Sefton, Lancs.



94. Mamble, Worcs., detail



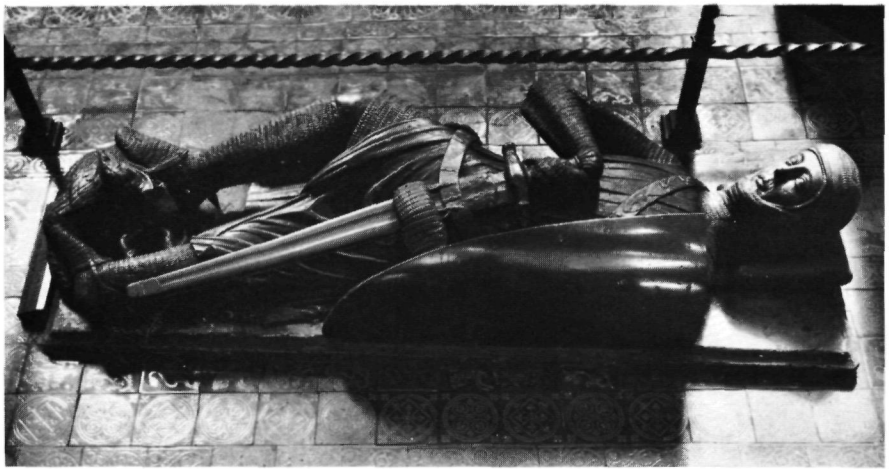
95. Mamble, Worcs.



96. Gloucester Cathedral



97. Dorchester, Oxfordshire.



98. London, Temple Church V



99. Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincs.



100. Hatfield-Broad-Oak, Essex, early 14th century



101. Tilton, Leics.



102. Jervaulx, Yorks.



103. Bere Ferrers, Devon, early 14th century





104. Bulmer, Yorks.



105. Coverham, Yorks.





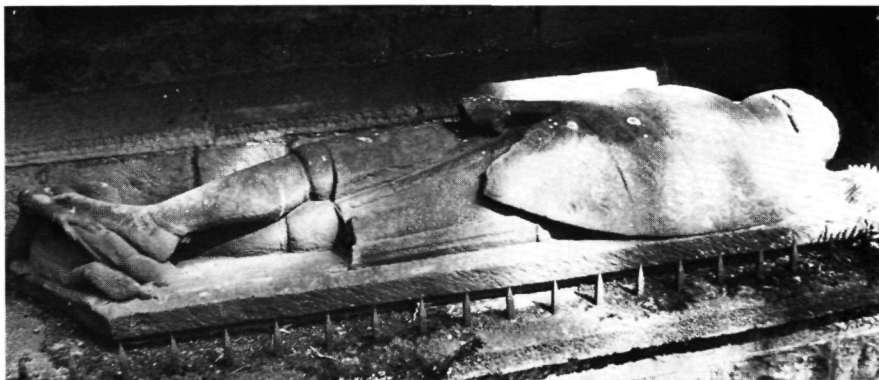
106. Gonalston, Notts.



107. Treeton, Yorks.



108. Pittington, C. Durham



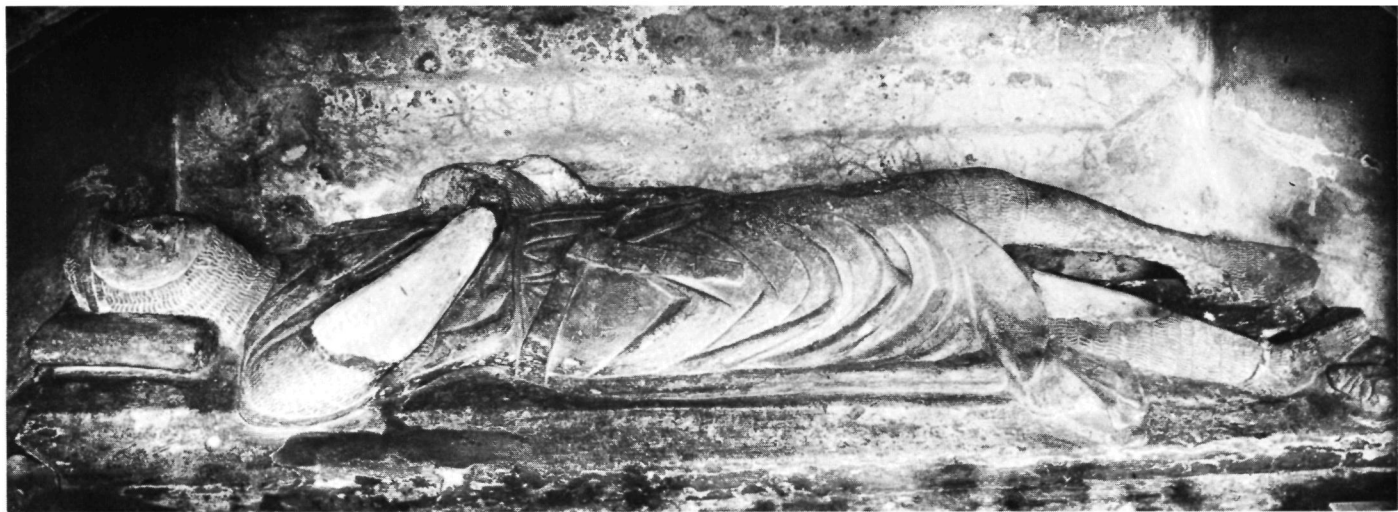
109. Whitworth, C. Durham



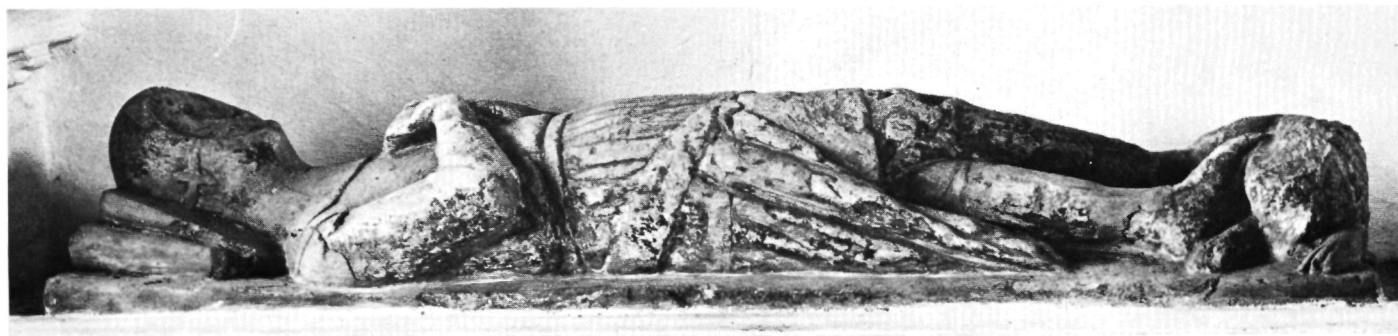
110. Rippingale, Lincs., early 14th century



111. West Tanfield, Yorks., early 14th century.



112. Sudborough, Northants.



113. Pertenhall, Bedfords.



114. Wickhampton, Norfolk



115. East Tuddenham, Norfolk



116. Little Easton, Essex



117. Horstead Keynes, Sussex



118. Tenbury Wells, Worcs.



119. Stockerston, Leics.





120. Netley, Hants.



121. Bottesford, Leics.





122. London, Westminster Abbey, William de Valence



123. London, Westminster Abbey, detail of pl. 126



124. Little Horkesley, Essex



125. London, Southwark Cathedral



126. London, Westminster Abbey, Edmund Crouchback



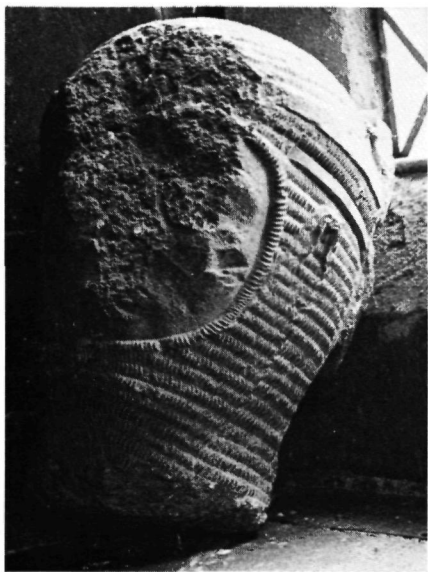
127. Shepton Mallet, Som. I, detail



128. Monkton Farleigh,  
Wilts. IV



129. Canterbury Cathedral



130. Farnborough, Warws.



131. Newton Longueville, Bucks.



132. Waltham Cross  
Abbey, Essex



133. Chichester Cathedral



134. London, Westminster Abbey, Lady Aveline



135. Chichester Cathedral, detail of pl. 133





136. London, Westminster Abbey, detail of pl. 134





137. Chichester Cathedral, detail of tomb-chest



London, Westminster Abbey, details of tombs to Edmund Crouchback, Lady Aveline, and Aymer de Valence

138.



139.



140.



141. Denham, Suffolk



142. Welsh Bicknor, Herefs.



143. Rand, Lincs.



144. Wolferlow, Herefs.



145. Denham, Suffolk, detail of pl. 141



146. Welsh Bicknor, Herefs., detail of pl. 142



147. Wolferlow, Herefs., detail of pl. 144

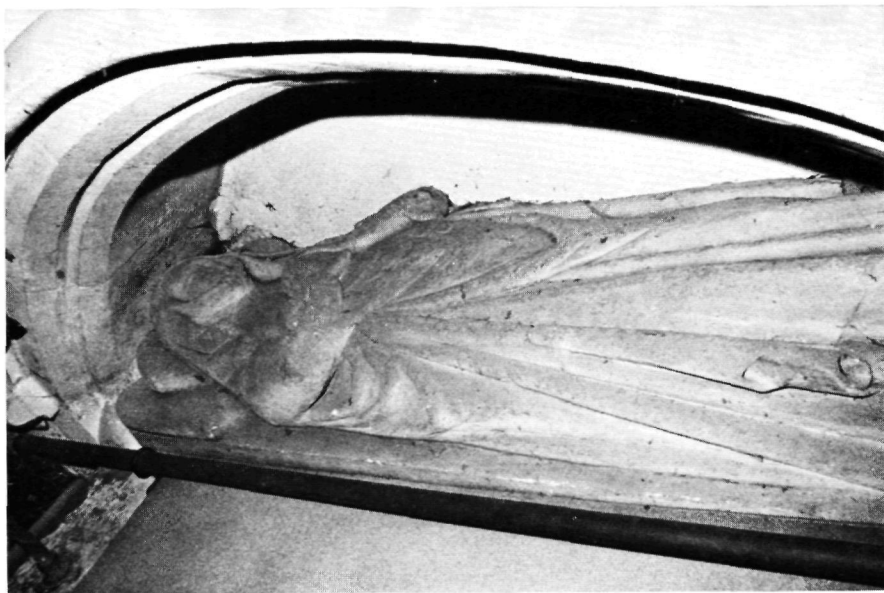




148. Axminster, Devon



149. Barton Blount, Derbys.



150. Seagry, Wilts.



151. Kirkleatham, Yorks.





152. Gonalston, Notts.



153. Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.



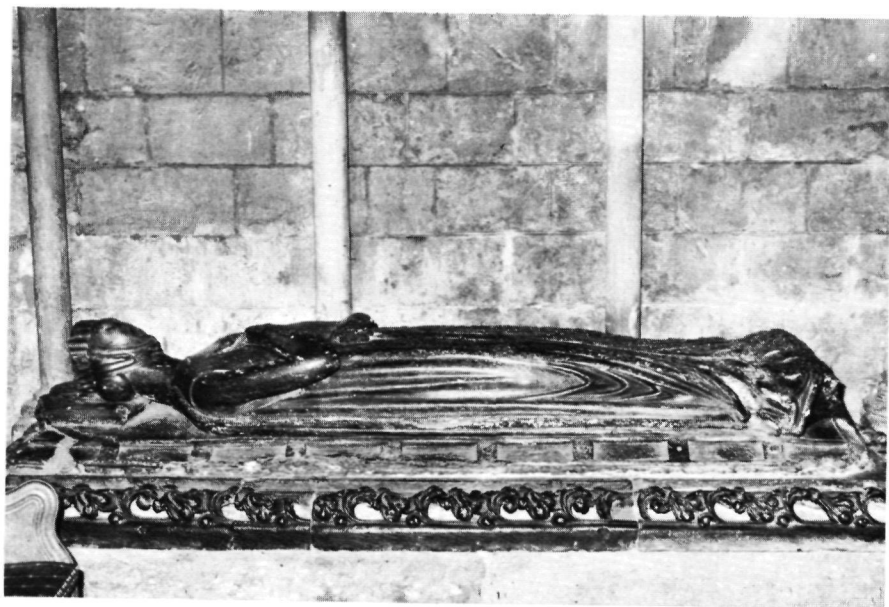
154. Detail of Chapter House, Southwell Minster



155. Wickhampton, Norfolk



156. Tynemouth, Yorks.



157. Worcester Cathedral



158. Romsey, Hants.



159. Darlington, C. Durham, detail of pl. 161



160. London, Westminster Abbey,  
Queen Eleanor



161. Darlington, C. Durham



162. Gayton, Northants.



163. West Leake, Notts.





164. Lyonshall, Herefs.



165. Statue, West front,  
Wells Cathedral



166. Monkton Farleigh, Wilts. (left figure)



167. Tideswell, Derbys.





168. Gloucester, St Mary Magdalene



169. Tilton, Derbys.



170. Wistow, Yorks., detail of pl. 171



171. Wistow, Yorks.



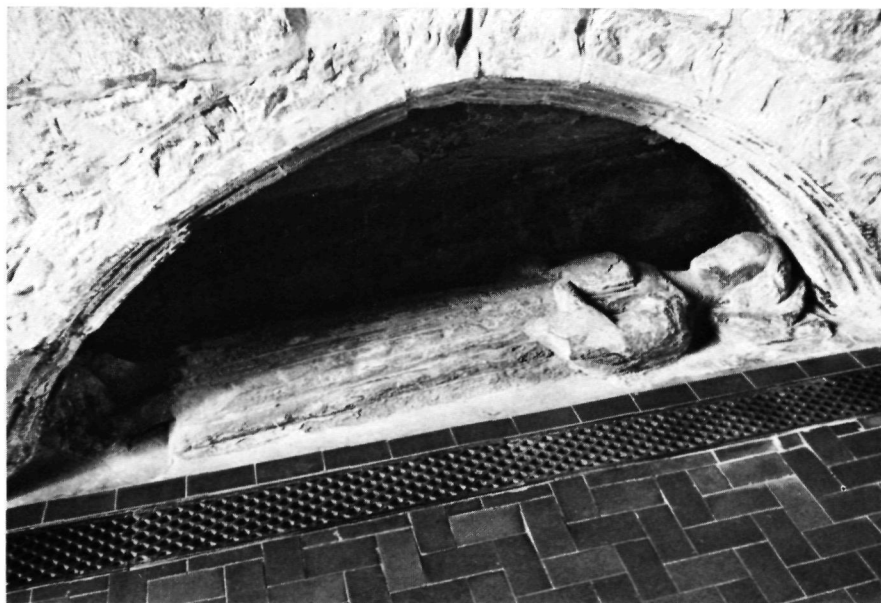
172. Worcester Cathedral, King John



173. London, Westminster Abbey, King Henry III



174. Bures, Suffolk



175. Egginton, Derbys.



176. Compton Martin, Som.



177. Bristol, St James



178. Paulton, Som.



179. Curry Rivel, Som. III



180. Gayton, Staffs.



181. Hatford, Berks.





182. Llangerron, Herefs.



183. Seavington St Michael, Som.



184. Long Ashton, Som. II





185. Winterbourne Bassett, Wilts.





# STELLINGEN

## I

De opvatting dat bij engelse grafbeelden van ridders gekruiste benen en getrokken zwaard twee kenmerken zijn die tegelijkertijd werden geïntroduceerd en altijd samen werden toegepast bij de uitbeelding van een bepaald type ridder, wordt weerlegd door een systematisch uitgevoerde stilistische analyse van alle bekende ridder-grafbeelden in Engeland. (J. W. Hurtig, *The Armored Gisant Before 1400*. New York/London 1979, p. 118)

## II

Het idee dat grafbeelden van ridders met gekruiste benen, zoals die veel in Engeland voorkomen tot c. 1350, kruisvaarders voorstellen, is historisch niet gefundeerd en moet worden toegeschreven aan opvattingen van romantisch georiënteerde schrijvers uit latere eeuwen.

## III

De weergave van de details van kleding en wapenrusting op grafbeelden in meestal te summier om hierop een chronologische indeling van beeldentypen te baseren. Ook met de huidige kennis van vroeg-middeleeuwse kleding is dit niet mogelijk.

## IV

Het onderzoek naar middeleeuwse grafbeelden wordt ten eerste bemoeilijkt door het feit dat deze beelden zo vaak verplaatst zijn en dat van de verplaatsingen praktisch geen aantekeningen bekend zijn. De ondeskundige methoden die in de 19de eeuw gebruikt zijn bij het vaststellen van de oorspronkelijke plaatsen van grafbeelden maken het onderzoek nog ingewikkelder.

## V

Een studie van een middeleeuws kerkgebouw dient evenveel aandacht te besteden aan alle voorgangers op de plaats van de desbetreffende kerk als aan het uiteindelijke bouwwerk zelf. De vroeg-christelijke en middeleeuwse archeologie vormt daarom een wezenlijk onderdeel van de opleiding tot kunsthistoricus van de middeleeuwen.

## VI

R. Morris (*Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales*. London 1979, p. 55) stelt terecht dat ook de onderzoeker van 'de gotische kathedraal' zowel onderlegd dient te zijn in kunsthistorische methoden als in de methoden van de techniek van het bouwen.

## VII

De opvatting, dat één detail, ontdekt door een specialist, een allesomvattende theoretische visie over een bepaalde periode kan weerleggen, geldt ook voor de kunsthistorische onderzoeker van de middeleeuwen. (vgl. F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*. London 1970<sup>2</sup>, p. 14)

## VIII

Voor de studie van de middeleeuwse beeldhouwkunst is het onontbeerlijk een grondige kennis te hebben van de gebruikte werktuigen, materialen en technieken.

## IX

De bestudering van kunsthistorische objecten middels directe waarneming is het 'practicum' van de opleiding tot kunsthistoricus. Deze verplichting om de objecten ter plaatse te bestuderen houdt in dat er voldoende geld beschikbaar moet zijn voor dit onderdeel van de studie.

## X

Uit de roman van Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*, verschenen in 1896, blijkt duidelijk dat de neogotische stijl in de engelse beeldhouwkunst en architectuur van de 19de eeuw de uitdrukking was van een reactionaire mentaliteit.

## XI

De vertalingen van het franse 'génie oriental et roman' door 'the eastern and the Roman mind' en van 'l'imitation stylistique' door 'stylistic limitation' in een voor studenten bedoeld handboek met een bloemlezing van kunsthistorische teksten uit de 20ste eeuw (vgl. H. Focillon, *L'art des sculpteurs romans*. Paris 1964<sup>2</sup>, pp. 174 en 178, en W. E. Kleinbauer, *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History*. New York etc. 1971, pp. 146 en 147) zijn een bewijs te meer dat alles in het werk gesteld moet worden om aankomende studenten te leren teksten in de oorspronkelijke taal te lezen.

